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I.—CHARACTER-DRAWING IN THUCYDIDES.¹

"Thucydides aims," says Bruns,² in substance, "in a strictly objective way to represent the course of history itself, not to give a succession of individual pictures. To only a few preferred individuals does the historian give such distinctive features, and these sparingly touched, as lift them from the mass. The private life and personal character of historical personages come into consideration only as these influence the course of public events. He avoids passing judgment in his own name on historical characters; hence independent characterizations of individual men, apart from the narrative, are excluded. Thucydides' abstention from characterizations is at first a disappointment to us; his exclusion of social and literary affairs from his narrative is a cause of regret to all, and of anger to Mr. Mahaffy. And yet, the more we think of it, the more we are inclined to justify Thucydides, at least as to the matter of characterizations. Besides, it is greater art to make the narration and grouping of facts convey judgments, whether of commendation or condemnation, than to pronounce opinions. If we can only be sure of the facts, the rest will take care of itself. The clear and truthful statement of events is history herself pronouncing judgment. In the long lapse of ages that is the safest plan. More light on events, changed points of view, may reverse the judgments of even the greatest and best-intentioned historian; facts stand and carry their judgment with them. Some such

¹ Presidential address at the meeting of the American Philological Association at New Haven, July 7, 1903.

² Ivo Bruns, *Das Literarische Porträt der Griechen*, 1896.

austere view of the historian's function Thucydides seems to have held, and when we read the whole history with this idea in mind we can but admire his reserve and self-restraint. He "knew how to make great events tell their own story greatly; and the dramatic power of the immortal history is heightened by its dramatic reserve."

Thucydides concentrates, then, his whole power on the presentation of the kernel of events and refrains from characterizations. And yet he does give us very real pictures of some of his men. How does he accomplish this? Two ways are open to him—narration of their deeds and the dramatic presentation of the motives at work, in their speeches. "Thucydides gives us distinct portraits of the chief actors of the Peloponnesian War, but these portraits are to be found in the clearly narrated actions of the men; the words ascribed to them rarely do more than mark the stronger lines of character."¹ This remark of Jebb's is doubtless true in general; but in some cases, as even Bruns agrees, the speeches seem to be a dramatic presentation of this or that speaker's individual views and meant to bring the speaker's personality before us, in other words, to be in effect a characterization.

To the small list of preferred characters whom the historian treats not as types, but as individuals of clearly marked features and impressive personality, belong, on the one side, especially Pericles, Cleon, Nicias, Alcibiades, Demosthenes, on the other, Archidamus, Brasidas, Gylippus, Hermocrates. To these might be added a few minor—at least by comparison minor—characters, e.g., the Athenians Phormio and Paches, and the Spartans Alcidas and Sthenelaidas; though the very distinct portrait of the last-named—given in a single short speech—seems intended rather as typical of the Spartan ephor as such than as representing the individual. Still three others Thucydides makes to stand out from the mass, either by narration of facts or by brief characterizations, namely, the Spartan Pausanias and the Athenians Themistocles and Antiphon; the first two of course not as belonging to the war, but as chief factors in the events which led to the supremacy of Athens. The characterization of Themistocles indeed gives more directly than in any other case the subjective judgment of the historian, and is measurably full, as was allowable

¹"The Speeches of Thucydides," in *Hellenica*, 1880.

perhaps, seeing that Themistocles was the founder of Athenian naval supremacy, on which the fortunes of the war depended.

But the exigencies of space and time compel me to choose even among these few especially preferred characters of the history. And so I shall attempt to point out Thucydides' method of character-drawing, and to give a clear idea of what he thereby accomplishes, by four chief personages: Brasidas and Cleon, Nicias and Gylippus. These are so set counter to each other in the history as to bring out more effectively by contrast each other's strength and weakness.

I may be pardoned, however, for digressing for a moment from this plan, in order to cast a glance at the greatest character of Athenian political history, as Thucydides represents him. The rule of the history—the march of events with no especial emphasis upon the individual—applies to the great Pericles just as to lesser characters.¹ In Book I his name occurs several times as leader of the Athenian troops (I. 111, 114, 116, 117). There he is a part of the course of events. Suddenly history thrusts him forward as the dominant factor. The Lacedaemonian ambassadors, in the negotiations preceding the declaration of war, demand that the Athenians "drive out the pollution of the goddess." They did this, according to Thucydides, nominally in behalf of religion, but really because they knew that Pericles was connected with the Cylonian matter on the mother's side, and because they thought if he should be banished what they hoped from the Athenians would readily come to them. They did not, however, expect that he would suffer this so much, as that he would come into ill-repute with the state, in that the war would be in part due to the misfortune of his relationship. For, being the most influential man of his time and the leader of the state, he opposed the Lacedaemonians in all things, not permitting the Athenians to yield, but urging them to war.² "At this moment," says Bruns, "history is concentrated in this one person, because the opposing party single him out as their most dangerous enemy, and the situation becomes not Sparta against Athens, but Sparta against Pericles." We are told presently that Pericles, fearing that Archidamus, the traditional guest-friend of his family, out of good-will, or the Spartan state, out of malice, may spare his estate and thus bring him into

¹ See Bruns, p. 4 ff.

² i. 126 f.

discredit, turns his property over to the state;¹ this is told, however, not to glorify Pericles, but as an historical fact. Beyond this we shall learn nothing directly of his personal character and private life more than of lesser personages; indeed, not so much as of Cleon and Alcibiades. For Pericles' public action is not influenced by personal interests, as in their case; in him we see simply the intellect at work in the sphere of politics.

From this time to his death Pericles is the most prominent figure in the history, and the narrative becomes in reality a valuation of the great statesman's ideals and of his policy. And yet, in conformity with the law of style imposed upon himself, Thucydides gives us, even in the three speeches, only historical facts; so grouped, however, that the resulting picture of the man is more vivid and permanent than the characterization recorded in Book II, c. 65. "Thucydides has herein accomplished," says Bruns, "a masterpiece in objective historical composition. Three historical moments when Pericles is the speaker are realistically reproduced, but through the choice of these occasions and the inner connection given to them, there comes out behind the questions of the day that are discussed a definitive and convincing picture of the man's spiritual being."

We can but marvel at the historian's economy in the disposition of the materials at his disposal for representing Pericles as supreme political factor. There are only three significant occasions in which Pericles speaks: (1) to show that war is inevitable and to outline his policy;² (2) to defend that policy and himself, and to hearten his despondent countrymen;³ (3) in the Funeral Oration,⁴ "that splendid monument of his grave enthusiasm for Athens," to show what manner of state they are fighting for, to give "a picture of Athens in her social glory well calculated both to rouse the pride and nerve the courage of her citizens." "Seeking ground of consolation for the survivors, he could not avoid," says Bruns, "setting forth the moral worth and the cultural significance of the state, the 'School of Hellas' for whose honor and preservation these men had offered their lives." "Fix your eyes," says Pericles, "upon the greatness of Athens until you become filled with the love of her, and in the presence of the spectacle of her glory reflect that this empire has been acquired by men who knew their duty and dared to do it." What an im-

¹ ii. 13.² i. 140-144.³ ii. 60-64.⁴ ii. 35-46.

pression we get from this great speech, not only of the glory of the state, but of the dignity of the man! "Every reader of the Funeral Oration must be aware," says Jebb, "of a majesty in the rhythm of the whole, a certain union of impetuous movement with lofty grandeur, which Thucydides has ascribed to Pericles alone." In book II. c. 65, on the announcement of the death of Pericles, the historian gives a subjective characterization, masked it is true as an explanation of an historical fact, which summarizes and to some extent supplements the qualities embodied in the speeches. This characterization and the three speeches, if repeatedly and carefully studied, give an impressive and abiding picture of Pericles the statesman. But tempting as it is to dwell upon the character and qualities of Pericles, I must proceed to the discussion of the four characters selected to exemplify the historian's method of drawing character.

After Pericles, Brasidas seems to be the favorite character of the historian. "Brasidas," says Classen, "whom Thucydides distinguishes as the most capable general of the Spartans, is from the first portrayed with warm interest even in minor details of his activity." He first appears in a minor exploit, but one thoroughly characteristic, and we feel at once the historian's sympathy with the man. An Athenian and Corcyraean force, disembarked from 50 ships, was attacking Methone. "Now Brasidas, son of Tellis, a Spartan," says Thucydides, "happened to be in those parts keeping guard, and, seeing the danger, came to the aid of the inhabitants with a hundred hoplites. He made his way through the scattered parties of Athenian troops, whose attention was occupied with the fortress, and threw himself into Methone, suffering a slight loss; he thus saved the place. The exploit was publicly acknowledged at Sparta, Brasidas being the first Spartan who obtained this distinction in the war." The real Brasidas is now before us. His great career begun on that occasion is not more conspicuous in deeds during the next nine years (431-422) than their representation through bare recital of facts in Thucydides' austere history is life-like and effective.

In his next brief appearances the same Brasidas is always before us, whether in the speech of the Lacedaemonian commanders (II. 87)—in which I seem to detect the Brasidean ring; the feigned attack on Naupactus (ii. 90) which drew the shrewd Phormio, against his will, into the narrow bay; or the

¹ ii. 25.

audacious plan to surprise the Peiraeus (II. 93)—the plan, I say, not its execution, for what Brasidas planned he at least attempted to carry out; or in the single mention of him in book III (c. 79), where as adviser of the incompetent admiral Alcidas, he vainly urged a speedy attack upon Corcyra when there was much confusion and fear in the city.

At Pylos we see again the intrepid and desperate fighter. The Peloponnesian fleet is attempting to land in its attack upon the Athenian fort that had been established on Lacedaemonian soil. The situation is extremely difficult, since the narrow space allows only a few ships to come up at a time; and so, resting and fighting by turns, they make their attack with great spirit, loudly exhorting one another to force the enemy and take the fort. Brasidas distinguished himself above all others.—*πάντων δὲ φανερώτατος Βρασίδας ἐγένετο*, says Thucydides. He was captain of a ship, and, seeing his fellow captains, if they could not land anywhere, hesitating and afraid of running their ships on the rocks, he called out to them: "Don't spare timber when the enemy have built a fort in our country; wreck the ships and force a landing!" Thus upraiding the others, he compelled his own pilot to run his ship aground, and made for the gangway. But in attempting to disembark he was knocked down by the Athenians, and after receiving many wounds swooned away and fell into the fore part of the ship; his shield dropped off his arm into the sea, and, being washed ashore, was taken up by the Athenians and used for the trophy which they raised after their victory.¹

In the year 424 occurs a daring exploit, the exact parallel of that at Methone: this time by a rush with 300 picked men he saves the city of Megara from the Athenians. A little later in the same year he is sent to Chalcidice to the dissatisfied allies of Athens, in order by a diversion to draw off the Athenians from the coasts of Laconia. Here² Thucydides works into the narrative a capital characterization, as an explanation of the Chalcidians' desire for Brasidas. "He was even more willing to go," says Thucydides, "than they were to send him. The Chalcidians too desired to have him, for at Sparta he had always been considered a man of energy. And on this expedition he proved invaluable to the Lacedaemonians. At the same time he gave an impression of justice and moderation in his behavior to the cities, which

¹ iv. 11 f.² iv. 81.

induced many of them to revolt, while others were betrayed into his hands. Thus the Lacedaemonians were able to lighten the pressure of war upon Peloponnesus, and when shortly afterward they desired to negotiate, they had places to give in return for what they sought to recover. And at a later period of the war, after the Sicilian expedition, the honesty and ability of Brasidas, which some had experienced and of which others had heard the fame, mainly attracted the Athenian allies to the Lacedaemonians. For as he was the first who was sent out and proved himself to be in every way a good man, he left in their minds a firm conviction that others would be like him." Note the complimentary terms which Thucydides here applies to his hero, hiding himself under a Chalcidian mask: "man of energy" (*δραστήριος*), "just and moderate" (*δίκαιος καὶ μέτριος*), "honest and of clear insight" (*ἀπερή καὶ ξύνεσις*), "in every way a good man" (*κατὰ πάντα ἀγαθός*). Compare also a remark of Thucydides himself relative to Brasidas' cleverness in speech, as displayed in negotiations of this period. "For a Lacedaemonian he was not a bad speaker,"¹ says the austere historian, from whom a word of praise is a eulogy. Of Brasidas' expedition to Amphipolis (424), where he outgeneraled Thucydides and thus caused the banishment of that commander, the historian states the facts without a word of self-justification. But we learn that "the cities which were subject to Athens, when they heard of the taking of Amphipolis and of Brasidas' promises and of his gentleness, were more impatient than ever to rise, and privately sent embassies to him, asking him to come and help them, every one of them wanting to be the first."²

The next exploit of Brasidas was one to test to the fullest his courage and presence of mind. When he and Perdiccas had determined to withdraw from the country of the Illyrians, the Macedonians fell into an unaccountable panic and decamped *en masse* in the night. Brasidas quickly arranged his troops for an orderly retreat, and encouraged his men in a short speech which, whether ever made or not, clearly sets forth, we may accept, the motives underlying his conduct on this trying occasion. "Mobs like these," said he, "if an adversary withstand their first attack, do but threaten at a distance and make a flourish of valor; although, if one yields to them, they are brave enough to run after him when there is no danger."³ The result was as he had anticipated, and his whole army escaped without loss.

¹ iv. 84.² iv. 118.³ iv. 126.

When Brasidas and Cleon are opposed to each other in the Amphipolis campaign, in September, 422, Thucydides attributes to the soldiers of Cleon sentiments which are undoubtedly his own. "The soldiers," said he, "drew comparisons between the generals; what skill and enterprise might be expected on the one side, and what ignorance and cowardice on the other."¹ It was as the soldiers expected. When Cleon, after his reconnoissance, was moving off with his army in disorder, Brasidas, having selected 150 hoplites to make the first attack, exhorted the army in characteristic style. "Do not show weakness, seeing what is at stake," he concluded, "and I will show you that I can not only advise others, but fight myself." Then, when he observed the general retreat of Cleon's army, he shouted, "Those men do not mean to face us; see how their spears and their heads are shaking; such behavior always shows that an army is going to run away. Open the gates and let us at them!"²

Brasidas' onset with his 150 hoplites upon the Athenian center, speedily supported by the main body, was entirely successful. The sudden attack at both points created a panic. "Cleon, who had never intended to remain," says Thucydides, "fled at once and was overtaken and slain." But unfortunately the brave Brasidas was fatally wounded in the melee, and, like Wolfe at Quebec, survived only long enough to learn that his army was victorious. Thucydides does not pronounce a eulogy upon, or even give a formal characterization of, the dead hero, though he does honor him with a full statement of facts, which amounts to a eulogy. "Brasidas was buried," he says, "with public honors in front of the agora. The whole body of the allies, in military array, followed him to the grave. The Amphipolitans enclosed his sepulchre, and to this day they sacrifice to him as a hero, and also celebrate games and yearly offerings in his honor."³ This is the fullest statement of the kind in Thucydides.

If Brasidas is Thucydides' favorite character, Cleon is his especial aversion. In his case alone the historian abandons his constant attitude of self-restraint and impartiality. In all others he leaves to the facts of history the verdict of approval or condemnation; in the case of Cleon he breaks this reserve. Grote, who is inclined to defend Cleon, suspects the cause to be

¹ v. 7.² v. 10.³ v. 11.

personal—the fact that Cleon was the reputed accuser when the historian was sentenced to banishment. At any rate, Cleon is introduced on his first appearance with words that betray the historian's strong aversion: "Cleon, the son of Cleaenetus, who also had carried the former decree of death, being in other respects the most violent of the citizens, and by far the most persuasive at that time with the demos, came forward and spoke."¹ It was not his first appearance before the Athenian assembly, for he was already recognized, as seen above, as the speaker "most persuasive with the demos," and we know from Plutarch that he had risen into importance a few years earlier, during the lifetime of Pericles and as an opponent of his. Thucydides characterizes Cleon by making him at times an imitator of the language of the great Pericles. Classen says, "Thucydides probably purposely puts into the mouth of Cleon turns of thought and expression which are clearly echoes of the speeches of Pericles. Cp. III. 38. 1; 40. 4. Far as Cleon was removed from him in mind and mode of thinking, he had yet learned from him what was effective in a speech." Rather, it seems to me, a subtle and adroit way the historian has of characterizing the demagogue; for it is, as Professor Shorey remarks, "the seamy side of the Periclean ideal" that Cleon represents. Thucydides reserves him until a crisis in which he plays a thoroughly characteristic rôle, one which merits and meets with our unqualified horror and condemnation. The proposition which he had carried in the ecclesia and was now defending was to kill all Mitylenaeans of military age—about 6,000—and to sell as slaves the women and children. We shall find him two years later carrying a like decree "to destroy Scione and put the citizens to the sword." The speech of Cleon² is one of the most remarkable recorded in Thucydides and justifies the terms employed to characterize him, "most violent" (*βιαιότατος*) and "most persuasive with the people" (*τῷ δήμῳ πιθανώτατος*).

His next important appearance is in a rôle as characteristic as that against the Mytilenaeans. This time he is the blustering demagogue.³ When the Lacedaemonians, in dismay at the situation of their troops in Sphacteria, offered very advantageous terms to the Athenians, these, reflecting that now it was in their

¹ iii. 36.² iii. 37-40.³ iv. 21-23 and 26 ff.

power at any time to make peace, followed Cleon and demanded more. But the blockade of the island spun itself out interminably, and the watch became harassing to the Athenians. Cleon, knowing that he was becoming an object of general mistrust because he had stood in the way of peace, first boldly challenged the reports from Pylos. Then, when he himself was delegated to go and inspect the situation, he urged rather to send a fleet against the island. "He declared sarcastically that if the generals were good for anything they might easily sail to the island and take the men; that he would do it if he were general." This was intended for Nicias, whom Cleon hated. Nicias promptly offered to resign in Cleon's favor, and he then tried to back out. "But the more Cleon declined the proffered command and tried to retract, the more the multitude, as their manner is, urged Nicias to resign and shouted to Cleon that he should sail."¹ So he had to undertake the expedition. But choosing as colleague, Demosthenes, who was in command at Pylos and the ablest Athenian general of the war, and already purposing an attack upon the island, he vauntingly said that in twenty days he would be back with the Lacedaemonians as prisoners or would slay them on the spot. "His vain words," says Thucydides, "moved the Athenians to laughter; nevertheless the wiser sort of men were pleased when they reflected that of two good things they could not fail to obtain one—either there would be an end of Cleon, which they would have greatly preferred, or, if they were disappointed, he would put the Lacedaemonians into their hands." Evidently the historian is giving his own feeling in the general sentiment. But the "mad" promise of Cleon was made good; for he did bring back the prisoners within twenty days.

Cleon's success at Sphacteria, however, was to be his own undoing. He persuades the Athenians, in 422, to send him in command of an expedition to the Chalcidian cities. His opponent was Brasidas. They met at Amphipolis, where Thucydides two years before had been outgeneraled by the same commander. His soldiers had no confidence in him and had unwillingly followed him from Athens; their mistrust was speedily justified. When Brasidas made his impetuous assault with 150 men upon the center of Cleon's army, the Athenians were terrified at his

¹ Perhaps the only passage where the serious historian allows himself to betray a feeling for humor.

audacity, and "Cleon indeed, who had never intended to remain, fled at once, and, being overtaken by a Myrcinian targeteer, was slain."¹ "Brasidas and Cleon," says Thucydides by way of summary, "had been the two greatest enemies of peace—the one because the war brought him success and reputation, the other because he fancied that in quiet times his rogueries would be more transparent and his slanders less credible."²

Ingenious attempts have often been made to reverse the verdict of history in the case of one and another arch-sinner. The effort has been made to whitewash, at least to exculpate, Cleon, notably by Grote. But in Cleon's case more explicitly than in any other, Thucydides has departed from his rule to state facts, not pronounce judgments. In few words, but unmistakably, he has condemned Cleon; his aversion to him is as undisguised as his sympathy with Brasidas is apparent. The world has too long believed in the self-restraint and impartiality of Thucydides to be convinced now, that his aversion to Cleon was due to a personal grudge. Thucydides had suffered at the hands of both Brasidas and Cleon: by the former he had been outgeneraled; on the latter's motion he had been banished. The one he admires; the other he despises. The verdict of his history is likely to stand in both cases. As Thucydides represents him, Brasidas was not only a thunderbolt of war, but a military genius of the first order; he was a forcible and persuasive speaker, a winning personality, a magnetic man who inspired confidence and drew men to him, whether as military commander or as political ambassador. In the case of Cleon, the greatest historian and the greatest satirist of the world, who knew all the facts, have both branded him as the arch-demagogue; and their verdict will stand. Cleon is pilloried forever.

We have been allowed to know more of the personality of Cleon than of Pericles or of Brasidas. The reason is doubtless, as Bruns says, that the personality of Cleon influences his public actions: hence we are permitted to know not merely the politician and soldier, but the rude, violent, vain, swaggering man. We have, too, a psychological analysis of his motives, because we could not otherwise understand his historical rôle. We shall find this still more marked in the case of Nicias.

Of the chief men in the Peloponnesian War, Nicias is perhaps relatively the least important, as far as real ability and force of

¹ v. 6-II.

² v. 16.

character are concerned; but we have a fuller psychological analysis, we are allowed to see deeper into his soul than any other man's. The reason is that his is a more complicated nature; in him the most varying motives cross each other. Fate makes him play a conspicuous rôle; for by reason of his wealth, his public spirit, his consistently just conduct, his reputation for success, the people have confidence in him. He is the exponent of the peace party. Fate and the people's faith make him, against his will, the leader of the fateful Sicilian expedition, and, because he is unequal to the task, he becomes the cause of his country's overthrow. Because therefore of the rôle he had to play, if not for his ability and force of character, the history should give a full and clear picture of him; and it does.

Nicias first becomes prominent in the history when, answering Cleon's taunts in the Sphacterian matter, he offered to yield the command to him. We have seen the outcome above. As the representative of the peace party at Athens and the chief opponent of Cleon, he becomes still more prominent after the other's death. "Nicias, the son of Niceratus, who had been the most fortunate general of his day," says Thucydides,¹ "became more eager than ever to make an end of the war. He desired whilst he was still successful and held in repute, to preserve his good fortune; he would have liked to rest from toil, and to give the people rest; and he hoped to leave behind him to other ages the name of a man who in all his life had never brought disaster on the city. He thought that the way to gain his wish was to trust as little as possible to fortune and to keep out of danger; and that danger would be best avoided by peace."

Here, under the form of an explanation of his position as representative of the peace party, we have really a characterization. Up to this point, he has played an important rôle in a worthy manner; but for the Sicilian expedition he would have come down to us, not indeed as a great statesman and general, but as a safe leader who had deserved well of his country. It is the irony of fate that Nicias, who saw so clearly the folly and even the danger of this expedition—so complete a departure from Pericles' policy—, that Nicias, chief representative of the peace party and anti-imperialist as he was, should have been forced by the people's confidence in his integrity and ability, to take the

¹ v. 16.

chief command in that imperialistic enterprise, and should not only become the chief cause of the failure of the expedition, but lose his own life and reputation.

Five days after the expedition had been voted, in an assembly called to consider its immediate equipment, Nicias, who had been elected general against his will,¹ thinking that upon slight and flimsy grounds they were aspiring to the conquest of Sicily, which was no easy task, said, among other things:² "I tell you that in going to Sicily you are leaving many enemies behind you, and seem to be bent on bringing new ones hither. We should not run into danger and seek to gain a new empire before we have fully secured the old. On behalf of our country, now on the brink of the greatest danger which she has ever known, I entreat you to hold up your hands against it." But the people were the more resolved upon war, and Nicias, thinking that he might possibly change their minds by the magnitude of the equipment asked for, demanded a force more magnificent and costly than had ever been sent out by any single Hellenic power. "The result disappointed him. Far from losing their enthusiasm at the disagreeable prospect, they were more determined than ever; they approved of his advice, and were confident that every chance of danger was now removed. All alike were seized with a passionate desire to sail, the elder among them convinced that they would achieve the conquest of Sicily; at any rate such an armament could suffer no disaster; the youth were longing to see with their own eyes the marvels of a distant land, and were confident of a safe return; the main body of the troops expected to receive present pay, and to conquer a country which would be an inexhaustible mine of pay for the future. The enthusiasm of the majority was so overwhelming that although some disapproved, they were afraid of being thought unpatriotic if they voted on the other side, and therefore held their peace."³

The chief cause of the fateful expedition was Alcibiades; but in the conduct of the enterprise the destiny of Athens came to rest in the unwilling hands of Nicias. Alcibiades, after he had become a traitor, did what resentment and diabolical cleverness could avail to damage his country; but the unhappy Nicias was the chief instrument of fate in the disaster. "The simple course of historical events becomes an indirect characterization of the

¹ vi. 8.

² vi. 9-14.

³ vi. 24.

man." The narration and grouping of events show unmistakably the historian's condemnation of the unfortunate general whom he never blames in word. And why should he condemn in word, when the facts do it inevitably and irrevocably? The historian's narrative of facts makes only too plain that Nicias was over-cautious, irresolute, procrastinating, afraid of the demos, superstitious. The one excuse that could have been urged for Nicias was that he was suffering from an incurable disease. But as Thucydides does not accuse, so he does not excuse; he simply mentions the fact.¹

Perhaps it is allowable to see in the summary of Nicias' views,² given in the council of Athenian commanders after the defeat on Epipolae, a masked characterization and even condemnation of the unfortunate Nicias. Demosthenes had urged instant withdrawal from Syracuse; Nicias acknowledges that the situation is bad and that it is best to retreat, but is loath to admit this openly; he tries to persuade himself that the affairs of the Syracusans are even worse off than their own; besides he fears the demos at Athens. Overcautiously weighing all the pros and cons, he is inclined both ways. Against withdrawal he sets probable accusations of treachery on the part of hostile orators at home. Not knowing what to do, he did nothing; though it was more important to come to some positive conclusion than that the conclusion should be right.

Let us now summarize briefly the cardinal mistakes of Nicias, as they may be gathered from Thucydides' narration of facts. (1) Nicias rejects Lamachus' advice to sail direct to Syracuse and fight as soon as possible under the walls.³ Formidable at first, by wasting the winter at Catana he fell into contempt and allowed time for succor to come from Peloponnesus. (2) Learning of Gylippus' approach and despising the small number of his ships, at first he set no watch; then, when he did send four ships to intercept him, was *too late*.⁴ (3) Lets Gylippus get into Syracuse by way of Euryâlus.⁵ (4) Allows Gylippus to surprise and take the fort Labdalon.⁶ (5) Sends twenty ships to waylay at the Porthmus the Corinthian succors for Syracuse, but *too late*.⁷ (6) Allows Gylippus to build in the night the Syracusan crosswall past the Athenian wall of circumvallation.⁸

¹vii. 15.²vii. 48.³vi. 49.⁴vii. 1.⁵vii. 4, 7.⁶vii. 3.⁷vii. 2.⁸vii. 6.

(7) Permits Gylippus to surprise and capture Plemmyrium, with the result that the Syracusans were henceforth "masters of the mouth of the harbor on both sides, so that not a single storeship could enter without a convoy and a battle."¹ (8) Allows Gylippus and the Syracusans to send to southern Italy and cut off a supply fleet meant for the Athenians.² (9) Is deceived by a ruse and drawn into a seafight when the men are unprepared and hungry.³ (10) Rejects the proposition of Demosthenes and Eurymedon to leave Sicily immediately after the failure of the night-attack on Epipolae.⁴ (11) Having finally consented, in view of matters getting worse and worse, to lead off the army, he is frightened by an eclipse of the moon and gives orders, obeying the injunction of the soothsayers, to wait still twenty-seven days.⁵ (12) Fooled by the messengers of Hermocrates, on the night after the great seafight, he postpones immediate departure.⁶

That is the last mistake. All had been made that were possible, or necessary to, the catastrophe that was now inevitable. The expedition was one series of costly errors committed with the best motives on the part of a brave and patriotic but not great man. On the retreat, Nicias behaves heroically and energetically, but it avails nothing. "He had hoped," says Thucydides, "to leave behind him to the ages the name of a man who in all his life had never brought disaster on the city." But note the Sophoclean irony in those other words with which the same historian sums up the disaster of the last expedition which Nicias led: "Of all the Hellenic actions which are on record, this was the greatest—the most glorious to the victors, the most ruinous to the vanquished; for they were utterly and at all points defeated, and their sufferings were prodigious. Fleet and army perished from the face of the earth; nothing was saved, and of the many who went forth few returned home."

Does this Thucydidean picture of Nicias, as gathered from the facts narrated, comport with the historian's remark that "Nicias of all the Hellenes of his time least deserved so to perish, on account of the whole course of his life regulated according to virtue?"⁷ Jebb thinks, "The fate of Nicias seemed to Thucydides a signal example of unmerited misfortune, since Nicias had been remarkable throughout life for the practice of

¹ vii. 22, 23.² vii. 25.³ vii. 39-41.⁴ vii. 48, 49.⁵ vii. 50.⁶ vii. 73, 74.⁷ vii. 86.

orthodox virtue." But the facts as narrated make it impossible to accept this as Thucydides' view. It is simply a statement by the historian of the popular impression of such a life, as Bruns expresses it; or, it may be, as Professor Shorey puts it, that the famous words "convey quite as much irony or sense of dramatic contrast as moral affirmation;" or it may be an expression of skepticism.

The character of Gylippus, the Spartan commander at Syacuse, is in marked contrast with that of Nicias. Doubtless Thucydides intended by this contrast that we should feel the more strongly the essential weakness of Nicias—his over-cautiousness; his incapacity to seize unerringly, and utilize instantaneously the critical moment for action. Gylippus, in courage, energy, coolness, resolute and prompt action, is a second Brasidas. He was probably not, though we have no means of knowing, also a diplomat and statesman, as Brasidas was. Alcibiades, after turning traitor, had said to the Spartans (vi. 93): "A Spartan commander I conceive to be even more indispensable than an army," i. e., for the Syracusans. Gylippus was just the man for the crisis. He began instantly to make energetic preparations, and was soon at Tarentum and Thurii, thinking to save South Italy at any rate, since all reports were that the Athenian lines round Syracuse were now complete. "Nicias heard of his approach, but despised the small number of his ships, thinking it a privateering expedition, and set no watch (vi. 104)." Landing at Himera, he began at once to draw allies to him, for "the impression got abroad," says Thucydides, "that he had come full of zeal (viii. 1)." A Corinthian ship-captain, who slipped into Syacuse at that time and announced Gylippus' approach, found the citizens on the point of holding an assembly about giving up the war, and when Gylippus forced his way in shortly after by way of Euryâlus, he found the Athenian wall of circumvallation all but complete. So near was Syracuse to destruction (c. 2).

How must Nicias have been startled at the arrogance of Gylippus' communication on the day of his arrival—"offering a truce if they were willing to quit Sicily within five days, taking what belonged to them (c. 3). Nicias in contempt made no reply, but some of his soldiers derisively asked the herald, "Does the presence of a Spartan cloak and staff make you so strong as to despise Athenians?" (Plutarch, *Nicias* 19). The next day Gylippus surprises and takes the fort Labdalon (c. 3). Defeated

a few days later in his first collision with the Athenians, he tells his troops, as General Lee told his after Antietam, "the fault was not theirs, but his," then leads them again next day to battle, and is victorious (c. 5 f.). The following night the Syracusans build their crosswall past the Athenian wall, thus forever preventing the circumvallation. Next the Corinthian Erasinides, eluding Nicias' guardships, sailed into Syracuse; Gylippus was off into various cities of Sicily to collect land and naval forces; ambassadors were despatched to Lacedæmon and Corinth asking for reinforcements; and the Syracusans were now manning a navy and practising with the intention of trying their hand at this new sort of warfare (c. 7). Verily a marvelous change had been wrought in the situation in an incredibly short time, in painful contrast to Nicias' course of action during the whole preceding winter; so that Nicias must presently confess in a letter to Athens, "We who are supposed to be besiegers are really the besieged (c. 11)." The next spring Gylippus attacks Plemmyrium from the land side, while the Syracusan fleet is engaged with that of the Athenians, and takes the three forts, this loss being one of the severest blows that befell the Athenians, causing discouragement and dismay throughout the army (cc. 22, 23). When the Syracusan fleet again attacks that of the Athenians in the Great Harbor, Gylippus lends material aid by a similar attack upon the Athenian fortifications (c. 37). After Demosthenes' failure in the night-attack on Epipolæ, Gylippus goes again into the rest of Sicily to get still more troops, "being now in hopes to carry the Athenian fortifications by storm (c. 46)."

In the speeches of the rival commanders on the eve of the final seafight in the Great Harbor, Thucydides portrays most effectively, by contrast, the situation and the mood of the two armies. Nicias (vii. 61-64) sums up the whole meaning of the supreme crisis in these words: "Stand firm, therefore, now if ever, and remember, one and all of you who are now embarking, that on you hangs the whole state and the great name of Athens; for her sake, if any man exceed another in skill or courage, let him display them now." That is the note of desperation. But the note with which men win battles is that of Gylippus (vii. 66-68): "You have set men the example of withstanding that invincible navy, which you have now defeated in several engagements, and which you will probably defeat in this. For when men are crippled in what they assume to be their strength, any

vestige of self-respect is more completely lost than if they had never believed in themselves at all. When once their pride has had a fall, they throw away the power of resistance which they might still exert. Far otherwise is it with us. Our natural courage, which even in the days of our inexperience dared to risk all, is now better assured, and when we go on to reflect that he is strongest who has overcome the strongest, the hopes of everyone are doubled. And in all enterprises the highest hopes infuse the greatest courage." "They are come," he adds, "into the desperate strait of risking a battle in such manner as they can, trusting more to fortune than to their own strength." In the measures taken to block the progress of the Athenians on the fatal retreat, Gylippus and Hermocrates are the joint leading spirits; their plans are conceived with skill and executed with merciless precision until at last the remnants of the whole vast host have been bagged or butchered.

We are accustomed to admire among Thucydides' great qualities as an historian his impartiality, his trustworthiness, vivid description, sense of contrast, conciseness, epigrammatic sententiousness, reserve, pathos. He is never a partisan, and the unsophisticated reader might at times wonder what his nationality was did he not frequently subscribe himself Thucydides the Athenian. Historians sometimes criticize his attitude, but they all accept his facts. His descriptions of battles read as if he himself had been present. He dramatizes history by placing events in such juxtaposition that a world of moral is conveyed without a word of comment; for example, when the funeral oration with its splendid eulogy of Athens is followed by the description of the plague, the disgraceful Melian episode is succeeded by the Sicilian disaster, the holiday-like departure from Athens is set over against the distressful flight from Syracuse. He packs his language so full of meaning that at times a sentence does duty for a paragraph, a word for a sentence. His political wisdom finds expression so epigrammatic and weighty that the Earl of Chatham might well call his work "that eternal manual of statesmen." "Of all manifestations of power, self-restraint impresses men most," (and however much we may regret his reserve,—since for much that he might have told us we have no other witness,—I have come to regard this as really great art. As for pathos, no historian ever excelled such passages as those where the utter defeat of a hitherto invincible navy is

portrayed (VII. 71), or the misery and dejection of the departing Athenian host is described (c. 75), or the final catastrophe in the river Assinarus seems to occur before our eyes (c. 84), preparing us for the final sentence: "Fleet and army perished from the face of the earth; nothing was saved, and of the many who went forth few returned home." In the exhibition of all these qualities Thucydides is supremely great. Is it too much to claim that also in the drawing of characters like Brasidas and Nicias—not in what he says, rather in what he does not say, but makes facts say—Thucydides is a great master?

CHARLES FORSTER SMITH.

II.—TEMPORAL SENTENCES OF LIMIT IN GREEK.

Schanz's 'Beiträge zur historischen Syntax der griechischen Sprache', which began shortly after this Journal was founded, have not moved forward very rapidly of late, and the Historical Syntax, which was to have resulted in seven or eight years after the first 'contribution', does not seem to be much nearer completion than other syntactical work of much more recent inception. In all these years scientific syntax has not stood still, and the rebellion against the arrangement followed by Schanz's staff is in full swing. We are, it seems, to do away with such abstractions as final sentences and conditional sentences, or, if final and conditional relations are mentioned at all, they are to be subordinated to the introductory particles. The body, say, of $\omega\varsigma$, is not to be broken up and scattered among half a dozen categories. $\omega\varsigma$ is one. To be sure, as a matter of practice, the categories reappear under the various introductory particles, and the whole matter resolves itself into a question of, say, 6×4 or 4×6 . Nor was the old way without its advantages. The observation of the phenomena under this or that metaphysical category, if you choose, sets one thinking. It certainly means something that the consecutive sentence in Greek was so late in its development. The final infinitive is much more primitive than the consecutive; and it is significant that the road to the consecutive lay through the final. The purposefulness of the consecutive is ingrown in the constitution of things. 'There be gods many', says the apostle, no matter how he means it. 'The universe is full of gods', says the earliest of the Greek philosophers, and to the primitive man every consequence looks as if it were a purpose. The developed consecutive is a quasi-final and the simple infinitive becomes $\delta\omicron\tau\epsilon$ with the infinitive (A. J. P. VII 164). But, not to lose myself in illustrations, I do not think that the traditional lines of syntactical research have lost all their usefulness and therefore welcome No. 14 of the 'Beiträge', which the author, Dr. Fuchs, has styled: Die Temporalsätze mit den Konjunktionen 'bis' und 'so lange als'. The title is long and awkward, and in English I should use 'Temporal Sentences of Limit'. Extent may be subsumed under Limit. Extent is the positive of which Limit is the

negative, and whereas in modern English and in German the introductory particles are different, 'so long as', 'so lange als' and 'while', 'während' for extent and 'until' 'bis' for limit, in Greek and in Latin they are largely the same, ὅφρα, ἕως, ἔσται, 'dum', 'donec'. Nay, even in English 'while' is used dialectically as 'until'. 'Farewell, Luellen, while we meet in heaven' (Peele). Extent takes, as a rule, the durative or 'paratatic' (A. J. P. XXIII 106) tenses, Limit the aoristic or 'apobatic' tenses, but there are occasional divergencies. Sometimes 'until' does not stop at the goal, but pushes over the line and takes the durative tenses just as *πρίν* (*οὐ πρίν* = ἕως) sometimes pushes over the line and takes the durative tenses (A. J. P. II 481). Like all other temporal particles (S. C. G., § 366, p. 146), the conjunction of limit, when used with the present indicative, regularly takes on a causative connotation, when there is only partial coëxtension. For partial coëxtension *ἐν* ϕ is, strictly speaking, the proper form, but sometimes ἕως is used loosely for *ἐν* ϕ . Compare our English 'during'. On *ἐν* ὅσῳ = ἕως, see the commentators on Thukyd. 3, 28, 1 and 8, 87, 1—not noticed by Fuchs.

The dominant particle is ἕως, all others are poetical or dialectic or erratic; and as the behaviour of ἕως has been set forth in the conspectus published A. J. P. IV 416, I might content myself with arranging Dr. Fuchs's results under the categories there established. The fact is that this class of temporal sentences is used with such mechanical regularity through large stretches of the language that there is very little to interest the hunter after 'sports'. It is positively refreshing to find *ἄν* omitted and to be forced to ask 'why?' In Attic prose ἕως is so regular that we thank Plato for giving μέχρι a chance and for putting ἔσται into the mouth of a ξένη Ἀρκαδική (as I noted in my L. and S. article twenty years ago), the same poetical ἔσται that the *condottiere* Xenophon uses so often and may have heard daily from the Arcadian soldiers of fortune in the ranks of the Ten Thousand.¹

¹ It is, I confess, rather daring to assume that ἔσται is specifically Arcadian, because Plato puts it in the mouth of the Mantinean, Diotima. Yet Plato was not unobservant of such matters, as he shows by the Ἴρρω Ζεὺς of Kebes (Phaed. 62 A). μέσσω(a) = ἕως occurs in an inscription of Tegea (Meister II 119, Brugmann Gr. Gr.³ p. 548). Later in life, the Elean ἔσται must have been familiar to Xenophon from his residence in Skillus, with which the ἔσται inscription has to do (Meister II 26, Brugmann Gr. Gr.³ p. 548). But in Xenophon it is not always easy to decide between poetical reminiscence and

Why, one asks, in the midst of all this regularity is *ἕως* 'so long as' with the present optative so very rare? Dr. Fuchs gives no answer, but does what is better and gives us one example from classic Greek (Xen. Hell. 5, 4, 37); and another is to be found in the *Ἀθηναίων πολιτεία* of Aristotle (A. J. P. XII 123).

In these few words I have given the sum of the whole matter, and under these depressing circumstances a monograph on the temporal sentences of limit lacks the charm of surprise. The rule comes back over and over again, and, apart from the use of varying particles in different spheres, there is little to note in the whole range of classical Greek. Of course Dr. Fuchs tries to show the paratactic origin of the temporal sentences of limit. *ἕως* and *ἕως* were originally indefinite 'for a while' and belonged to the leading sentence with which the following sentence was afterward welded, but he himself is forced to grant that all consciousness of the process was soon lost. But I am not satisfied with this concession. In our earliest documents the correlative feeling, the hypotactic feeling is perfectly established; the welding, if there ever was a welding, belongs to a time beyond our ken, beyond the Homeric *κεν*. It is absolutely impossible that the Homeric singer should have felt *κε* with the subjunctive as the beginning of a new sentence, and this is what the paratactic scheme demands. When we are dealing with Homer we are dealing with a highly developed, highly cultured language, and I, for one, am not concerned about what may be called cave-dwellers' Greek.

Under these conditions it is inevitable that I should consider Dr. Fuchs's monograph somewhat spun out; his 130 pages might have been reduced to a much narrower compass, and in the interest of those who have not the time for such matters I will make a summary of his treatise, which, of course, will not be all a summary, and we start with HOMER.

Time, says Dr. Fuchs, may be expressed by a participle, an adjective, e. g. *ῥηραῖος* (A. J. P. XXIII 14), by an adverb,

the jargon of the camp. Unfortunately for Fuchs, unfortunately for my article in L. and S., the reading *ἔστε* in the Platonic passage seems to have no MS warrant, a fact that Schanz, as the editor of Plato, ought to have pointed out to his disciple. Stallbaum, though he notes that Plato uses *ἔστε* nowhere else, declines to surrender it in favour of *ἕως* because Xenophon uses *ἔστε*! Surely statistical syntax has done some good, even if statistical syntacticians do not always scan their MS authority so closely as they might.

νῦν, τότε, by prepositional combinations like μέσφ' ἡοῦς ἡριγενείης (Il. 8, 508). Participles with prepositions occur in certain formulae. ἐς ἥλιον καταδύντα occurs four times in the Iliad, nine times in the Odyssey, the peculiar significance of which statistic it is hard to see. ἅμα occurs repeatedly with the participle as a temporal designation as in ἅμ' ἡοὶ φαινομένηφι, only once without the participle, Od. 16, 2, ἅμ' ἡοί. Then μένω, says Dr. Fuchs, may be translated by 'until', but it is a translation and nothing more. μένω with the infinitive belongs to the verbs that used to be called προαιρετικά καὶ ἐφετικά. With πάρος and πρίν we are already sufficiently acquainted (A. J. P. IV 89). To Dr. Fuchs πάρος and πρίν with infinitive are still quasi-prepositions, and he does not seem to know how lustily other scholars have been battling for a treatment of πρίν, which is much more in accordance with the method pursued by Fuchs himself in regard to temporal sentences of limit. Compare C. Hentze in Bezzenberger's Beiträge XXVII, p. 133. Next in order Fuchs takes up those paratactic expressions, in which 'until' is an inference, sometimes <how rarely!> without a conjunction, as in the often cited Il. 6, 340, ἀλλ' ἄγε νῦν ἐπίμεινον, ἀρήια τεύχεα δῶω <in which everybody feels the impatience, not to say breathlessness, of the asyndeton> but more frequently with a conjunction, as Od. 2, 434, παννυχίη μὲν ῥ' ἦ γε καὶ ἡὼ πείρε κέλευθον, | ἥλιος δ' ἀνόρουσε.¹ Of course, we can pump an 'until' conception into the combination of an imperfect and aorist just as we can pump a 'while' conception into the combination of an aorist and imperfect, as has been done by way of illustrating the Homeric use of the imperfect. So Il. 7, 303: ὥς ἄρα φωνήσας δῶκε ξίφος ἀργυρόηλον . . . Αἴας δὲ ζωστήρα δίδου φοίνικι φαεινόν, we are told to translate the paratactic Αἴας δὲ δίδου, 'while Aias gave'. But we must beware of setting up a genetic connection. So Il. 19, 142: ἐπίμεινον . . . δῶρα δέ τοι οἴσουσ(ι) cannot be the genesis of a construction that does not normally take the future indicative. Once for all, the preference for parataxis even as early as

¹ To bring the paratactic expression into genetic relation, or at any rate into conscious genetic relation, with the hypotactic form seems as unnatural as to ascribe the genesis of the ὥστε sentence to such an asyndeton as Hdt. 3, 12: αἱ δὲ τῶν Αἰγυπτίων <κεφαλαί> οὕτω δὴ τι ἰσχυραί, μόγις ἂν λίθῳ παίσας διαρρήξαις. Observe that he had used οὕτω ὥστε just before. We, who are born to the English tongue, find it hard to appreciate the asyndeton, 'I would lie so light, so light, I scarce should be unclasp'd at night.'

Homer is a matter of style and art, not a mere matter of linguistic development.

The relative sentence may be looked on as the mother of hypotaxis and precedes the other sentences genetically. When we analyze a relative and call it final, conditional and the like, we are simply using convenient categories; categories which may be misleading. In the relative sentence purpose is not expressed as it is in the final sentence (A. J. P. XXIII 257); and it would be a mistake to derive the iterative optative of the relative sentence from the conditional sentence, for the original home of the so-called iterative optative is not in the conditional sentence, if we may judge by Homer, but in the relative (Monro, H. G. §§ 306, 311). *εἰάν* may be particular in prose, *ὅς ἂν* is always generic. And here it must be confessed that categories have done harm. We are all too apt to take our pigeon-holes for pilgrim shrines. Still the relative is entitled to precedence and we are not surprised to find Dr. Fuchs begin with the Homeric *εἰς ὃ κε* which even then had become a fixed formula so that a masculine antecedent makes no difference. *εἰς ὃ κε* 'until' is used 50 times in Il. and Od., always with the subjunctive except Il. 15, 70 (optative) and always preceded by a futural sentence.¹ The tense is always the aorist of antecedent action except in five passages in which the present subjunctive is used, Il. 5, 466; 9, 609 = 10, 89; 11, 666; 23, 244; passages, which Dr. Fuchs seems to find some difficulty in explaining and which he slumps together. In Il. 5, 466: *εἰς τί ἔτι κτείνεσθαι ἐάσετε λαὸν Ἀχαιοῖς; ἢ εἰς ὃ κεν ἀμφὶ πύλῃς ἐνποιοιτῇσι μάχωνται*; there is overlapping (A. J. P. II 481) 'until (ye find that) they are fighting.' And so Il. 11, 666: *εἰς ὃ κε δὴ νῆες . . . θέρωνται* and 23, 244: *εἰς ὃ κεν αὐτὸς . . . κεύθωμαι*. In Il. 9, 609 = 10, 89: *ἢ (sc. Διὸς αἴσα) μ' ἔξει παρὰ νηυσὶ κορωνίσιν, εἰς ὃ κ' αὐτμῇ | ἐν στήθεσσι μένη καὶ μοι φίλα γούνατ' ὀρώρη* the only natural translation is 'so long as'. The preposition is used as in *εἰς αἶθρον* and the present tense gives the extent. It is a very good illustration of the way in which a particle originally used for the negative side, limit, may be used for the positive side, extent. Of course, to the theorist this early development is unwelcome, but he who has penetrated into the spirit of the Homeric poems will find evidence enough of syntactical finesse and will not be ready to cry out 'Interpolation!', as Dr. Fuchs does when he

¹ Of course, neither here nor elsewhere am I responsible for Dr. Fuchs's figures.

encounters *εἰς ὃ κε* with the optative; Il. 15, 70: *ἐκ τοῦ δ' ἄν τοι ἔπειτα παλῖωξεν παρὰ νηῶν | αἰὲν ἐγὼ τεύχοιμι διαμπερές εἰς ὃ κ' Ἀχαιοὶ | Ἴλιον αἰπὺν ἔλοιεν*. The optative with *κε* is not assimilated to the preceding optative w. *ἄν* as Dr. Fuchs maintains. The optative with *κεν* shows the speaker's conviction that Ilios will be taken, nay, must be taken; and the loose relative structure makes this use much easier than if we had *ἕως*. See my remarks on Pind. P. 9, 129. True, interpolation is suspected on other grounds, but *εἰς ὃ κε* with opt. cannot be considered confirmatory evidence.

If *εἰς ὃ κε* is rigidly 'until', as Dr. Fuchs maintains, *ᾧφρα* has a varied translation of 'so long as', 'while', 'until', 'up to the time that', 'in order that'. These renderings are various but the fundamental meaning of *ᾧφρα* can be but one; and that one, according to Dr. Fuchs, is 'a while', 'irgend eine Zeit lang' = *aliquamdiu*. As to the etymology of *ᾧφρα* he does not deign to say a word, though that is pardonable, but, which is less pardonable, he disregards the correlative use of *τόφρα*, which gives *ᾧφρα* a relative character, whatever the etymology. The fact that *ᾧφρα* is used occasionally in an indefinite sense like *τόφρα*, just as *ἕως* is used occasionally in an indefinite sense like *τέως*, suffices him and what I must call the paratactic *παράνοια*, which could make no headway against the relative *εἰς ὃ κε*, has full sway henceforth until we get into Attic territory. Here is a specimen. Il. 6, 112: *ἀνέρες ἔστε φίλοι, μῆσασθε δὲ θούριδος ἀλκῆς | ᾧφρ' ἄν ἐγὼ βεῖω προτὶ Ἴλιον*. 'Seid Männer, ihr Freunde, gedenket der stürmenden Abwehr die Zeit über irgendwie; ich will nach Ilion gehen'. The first sentence, therefore, ends with *ᾧφρα* and the second begins with *ἄν*, regardless of the fact that *ἄν* is postpositive everywhere in Homer. So Il. 6, 258: *ἀλλὰ μὲν ᾧφρα κέ τοι μελιγδέα οἶνον ἐνείκω* 'wohlan, bleib noch eine Zeit lang! Ich will dir honigsüssen Wein bringen.' This is in my judgment analysis run mad and finds no support in the examples already cited, in which the combination of a durative and aoristic permits, but does not require, the translation 'until', Od. 14, 502: *κείμεν ἀσπασίως, φάε (= aor.) δὲ χρυσόθρονος ἡώς*. But Dr. Fuchs evidently himself feels how hopeless this sort of thing is and concedes the subordinate feeling for post-Homeric times.

In the Iliad, *ᾧφρα* 'so long as' occurs 24 times, in the Od., 15, not a very significant fact, in view of the relative length of the two poems (A. J. P. VI 399). The imperfect indicative is used in both members of the past, the present indicative in both members of the present. The present subjunctive, regularly with

κεν or ἄν, is used of the future preceded by a futural sentence, but κεν and ἄν being mere 'grammatical signs' of dependence are not necessary and the omission means nothing. Comp. Il. 22, 387: ὄφρ' ἄν ἔγω γε | ζωοῖσιν μετείω and Il. 23, 47: ὄφρα ζωοῖσι μετείω. And yet the ἄν does mean something. It is the sign of dependence on condition and gives a note of exactness, of caution, that is to make itself felt far down into Attic speech, that is to differentiate ὅπως and ὅπως ἄν (A. J. P. IV 422) and, which is still more important, is to bring everything that deals with the future into subjection to ἄν.

Next comes ὄφρα with partial coextension 'während', 'while'. Compare Latin *dum*. Here the ὄφρα clause takes the imperfect, the leading clause the aorist. When the action is future, the subjunctive is employed. There are six of these 'while' ὄφρα's in the Il., one in the Od., and in addition to these, Il. 14, 358, already cited under ὄφρα, 'so long as', might be translated 'while'. The passage runs: καί σφιν κῦδος ὄπαζε μίνυνθά περ, ὄφρ' ἔτι εὔδει. The profane person who is not imbued with a paratactic reverence for Homer will at once think of Ar. Eq. 109: τοὺς χρησμούς ταχὺ | κλέψας ἐνεγκε τοῦ Παφλαγόνος ἐνδοθεν, | ἕως καθεύδει, 'while he is asleep', 'now that he is asleep', with the inevitable causal connotation 'because he is asleep'.¹ ὄφρα, 'until', takes the indicative of a fact and the tense is the aorist. The leading verb is the imperfect, the action being interrupted by ὄφρα. In the three passages in which the leading verb is the aorist, the durative sense lies in the participle, Od. 7, 140: ἔχων, 7, 275: νηχόμενος, or is otherwise intimated. Il. 10, 570, θῆκε = ἔκειτο, according to Dr. Fuchs, but ὄφρ' ἐτοιμασσαίαι' is semi-final and the Δολώνεια is late. ὄφρα with the optative occurs in four passages, Il. 10, 570, just cited, Od. 12, 437; 23, 31 and 17, 298 ὄφρ' ἄν ἄγοιεν. The use of the optative is due, says Dr. Fuchs, to the 'expression of expectation or wish', and he ignores any difference brought about by ἄν, as we have just seen. The indefinite frequency that he recognizes in the optative does not lie originally in the optative but in the leading verb (A. J. P. XXIV 361).

The optative passages are followed by the subjunctive passages. This reversal of the usual order is, I take it, a protest against 'Modusverschiebung'. In the beginning, doubtless, the associa-

¹ "ἕως sometimes passes over into a causal or semi-causal sense (compare ὅτε and ὁπότε) 'while', 'now that', 'since'. So especially <and uniformly> with the present indicative" (A. J. P. IV 417).

tion of the optative with the past tenses and the association of the subjunctive with the present and futural tenses were separate processes; but, unwelcome as the fact may be to the genetic syntactician, this 'Modusverschiebung' had established itself firmly in Homer, so firmly that it was almost a mechanical tradition, and the departure from the sequence became a manner of revolution. Great is the goddess Μίμησις! Deep are the ruts of language! ὅφρα, 'until', with the subjunctive stands in 29 passages, all futural. The aorist is the only tense. It is by implication the tense of antecedent action. *κεν* or *ἄν* is used 19 times, omitted 10 times, 'without any difference of signification'. There is no established formula, such as we recognized in *εἰς ὃ κεν*, as we shall have to recognize in *ἕως ἄν* and *πρὶν ἄν*.

Then the temporal significance retreats, and ὅφρα is translated by 'in order that', 'damit', 'auf dass'. The final implication in the futural side of the temporal sentence of limit is plain enough. So the Latin 'dum', so the English 'until' with the subjunctive. The past tenses are followed by the optative, sometimes by the subjunctive, the present and futural tenses by the subjunctive. There are 106 final ὅφρα's in the Iliad, 116 in the Od., a disproportionate increase, as all Homeric scholars have known for a generation or two. Weber gives (p. 30) 117 for the Il., 120 for the Od. (See A. J. P. IV 122). The occasional use of *κεν* or *ἄν* is due, says Fuchs, to the transfer from the temporal ὅφρα sentences in which ὅφρα *κε* or ὅφρα' *ἄν* has its justification (Weber, pp. 36, 37). In admitting a blend, he admits a difference.

ἕως (*εἰς*, *εἰως*) is treated in the same way as ὅφρα. Like ὅφρα, its etymology is ignored, as with ὅφρα we begin with the *aliquamdiu* sense, which is fixed by the succeeding sentence. The welding takes place, the consciousness is lost in time. To be sure, there are very few *aliquamdiu* *ἕως*'s left, that function being almost uniformly discharged by *τέως* (*τεῖως*). In one respect, however, the treatment of *ἕως* differs from that of ὅφρα. The order is changed and 'während', 'while', is put first. The imperfect is used of an action during the course of which another action takes place, that other action being regularly in the aorist, once only in the imperfect, Od. 5, 424: *εἰς ὃ ταῦθ' ὄρμαινε—τόφρα δέ μιν μέγα κύμα φέρε*. In this *φέρε* Fuchs sees a 'psychologisches Moment'. But the use of the descriptive imperfect is a matter of psychology at any rate, and this 'psychologisches Moment' need not detain us.

ἕως, 'so long as', with imperfect indicative in both members, with present indicative in both, is not very common. Nothing is said here or elsewhere in the treatise of the causal connotation of the temporal particles with the present indicative. Comp. Od. 17, 390: οὐκ ἀλέγω εἰς μοι ἐχέφρων Πηνελόπεια ζῶει, and Od. 22, 106: οἷσε θεῶν, εἰς μοι ἀμύνεσθαι πάρ' (sc. εἰσὶν) διστοί. No one needs to be told how different these sentences are from those with which they are slumped on p. 32, viz.: Od. 13, 315 = 15, 153 and 19, 530, though it would be possible to read a causal significance into the last-cited verse.

ἕως, 'until', is used with the indicative, and with the subjunctive on the same principle as *ἄφρα*. The few optative passages are thought worthy of special study. So Od. 2, 77: τόφρα γὰρ ἂν κατὰ δαῖτυ ποτιπυσσοίμεθα μύθῳ | χρήματ' ἀπαιτίζοντες, ἕως κ' ἀπὸ πάντα δοθείη, where *κε-δοθείη* is explained as potential optative, correctly enough, if we know what potential means. Here *κε* gives the calculation of the speaker who says to himself (in Attic): πάντ' ἂν ἀποδοθείη 'everything must be returned, is bound to be returned' (S. C. G. § 447). At a later period of the language we may boggle at such an explanation, for the precession of the moods has become more mechanical, and one suspects that the shift has gone on despite the *ἕως ἂν* (S. C. G. § 448).

In Od. 9, 375: καὶ τότε ἔγω τὸν μοχλὸν ὑπὸ σποδοῦ ἤλασα πολλῆς | εἰς θερμαίνοιτο Dr. Fuchs recognizes the optative of wish, as well he may. 'Ich trieb dann den Pfahl unter den Aschenhaufen so lange, bis er warm würde, (eigentlich . . . eine Zeit lang, möchte er warm werden)'. Now no Greek of any period known to us ever analyzed in that way. The sentence is semi-final, and the durative tense is used because of 'the psychological interest in the process', the same psychological interest that gives us so many present imperatives in the cooking scene of the Acharnians (S. C. G. § 405). We see Odysseus watching the stake getting warmer and warmer and wondering whether it would ever get warm, a very different effect from the normal *θερμανθείη*.¹ Another optative of wish is recognized in Od. 23, 150, which is mere precession of the moods.

In futural sentences *εἰς κε* with aoristic subjunctive occurs four times, *εἰς* without *κε* once in Il. 13, 141: δ δ' (sc. χεῖμαρρος) ἀσφαλὲς θέει ἔμπεδον εἰς ἵκηται | ἰσόπεδον. Now I am not disposed to repine

¹ A. J. P. XXIII 250.

at the absence of *κε*, but the winter torrent is personified, and if any one feels a final touch in the clause, I shall not object. In earlier days I wrote and felt:

The truant brooklet wanders through the mead,
But runs to meet his lord, the sea, at last.

I say, 'a final touch, for *ἔως* does not become a purely final particle until we reach the *Odyssey*, and then always with the optative (Fuchs, p. 36). As I have repeatedly said that I do not sympathize with all these laborious efforts to make out parataxis in sentences in which parataxis is wholly lost to the consciousness, it will be readily understood that I receive without effusion Dr. Fuchs's concession that hypotaxis is gaining on parataxis, as is shown by the use of *ἔως*, 'während', five times paratactically with *δέ* in the *Iliad*, and only three times in the *Odyssey*. As the *Iliad* is longer than the *Odyssey* (roughly, 16 : 12), one is tempted to burn all one's books of the 'curious art' of statistics.

When we come to final *ἔως*, Dr. Fuchs asks in despair, 'Good Heavens! Why a new final particle? Insatiate Greeks! Did they not have *ἄφρα* and *ἵνα*, *ὥς* and *ὅπως*?' O yes! but language coquets with a variety of expressions until it finds one on which it can safely specialize, and the coquette Language, like the coquette in real life, often chooses a dull thing that does not radiate, and *ἵνα* was chosen. Why did the English language settle on 'in order that'? 'In order that' is a perfect Philistine, a perfect *ἀμνοκῶν*.

After we leave Homer and pass over to HESIOD and the HOMERIC HYMNS, the genetic interest diminishes sensibly. The bulk is comparatively small and the phenomena neither numerous nor striking.

εἰς ὃ κεν appears once in Hesiod (O. et D. 630). In Hymn XXVIII 14, not XXVII, as Fuchs has it, Abel reads what by the light of Homeric usage we may be permitted to call the bad grammar *εἰσόκε κούρη εἶλετ(ο)*, where most persons would prefer to read with Gemoll (1886) and Goodwin (1893) *εἰσόκε*, and restore the normal syntax rather than assume that the feeling for *κε* had been entirely lost. In Hesiod and the Hymns, *ἄφρα* is generally final, never 'until'. In Pindar as we shall see, as some of us have seen for years (Weber, p. 72; A. J. P. IV 431; Pindar, I. E. cvi), *ἄφρα* is always final, never temporal.

εἰως does not appear in Hesiod and but once in the Hymn to Aphrodite in the sense 'so long as'. In Hesiod the new temporal particle of limit *ἔστε* emerges Theog. 753: *ἔστ' ἂν ἴκηται*, and then disappears, though Fuchs recognizes its existence in prepositional form O. et D. 720: *αὐτὰρ ἐπεὶ κε δῦη, μεμνημένος, ἔστ' ἀνιόντα*. That *ἔστε* is not for *εἰς ὅτε* needs no elaborate setting forth at this time of day. Dindorf long ago paralleled it with *ὥστε* and Brugmann considers it an extended preposition and compares its conjunctive use with *μέχρι*. *μέχρι* and *ἄχρι* are indeed flagrant examples of the conjunctive use of prepositions. So in English 'until' was originally a preposition; 'without' was a preposition before it was a conjunction and we can say 'against he come' as well as 'against his coming'.

In the LYRIC POETS, *μέχρι* and *ἄχρι*, originally adverbs, are construed with the genitive as *μέχρις* is in Homer and become quasi-prepositions. There are seven 'until's', three expressed by the doomed *ὅφρα*, one by *ἔστε*, one by *μέχρι οὖ*, one by *ἔσκε* for which some read *ἔστε*.¹ There is little to note except the omission of *ἂν* with *ὅφρα* + subjunctive, Mimnermus 12, 9, and Theogn. 1353 a *Κύρνε*-fragment. Fuchs, however, slurs over the tense in *ὅφρα τῆλειος ἔη*. This is one of those passages in which the two senses meet. 'So long as it is getting' = 'until it gets'. *μέχρι οὖ* occurs Philox. 2, 2. Of 'so long as' expressions, there are twelve, six of the futural cases omit *ἂν* and only four have it. The explorer of Greek syntax need not be told that the lyric fragments are a most unremunerative territory. According to Fuchs *εἰως* occurs but once in lyric poetry. If that once is Pind. O. 10, 51, he ought to have mentioned the form, which is *ἄς*. Bindseil, it may be remembered, in the innocence of his heart, puts this *ἄς* down under *ὅς*. Let us hope that Dr. Fuchs did not overlook it.

More satisfactory are the SCENIC POETS, and first of Tragedy. AISCHYLOS uses *ἔστε*, *εἰως*, *ὅφρα*, these three. The seven instances of *ἔστε* are all 'until' and in future complexes always take *ἂν*. There is the same tendency to formula that is observable in *ὅταν*. Ag. 308 Fuchs notes *ἔσκηψεν* in the leading clause where we have had thus far the imperfect (see above), and gives himself unnecessary trouble to explain it. The character of the action

¹ Gr. Gr.³ p. 254, Brugmann divides *ἔσκε μάχηται ἔς κε μάχηται* and gives the equation *ἔς κε*: *ἔς ὃ κε* (*εἰς ὃ κε*) = *μέχρι ἂν*: *μέχρι οὖ ἂν*.

excludes the imperfect. There is no watching it.¹ *ἕως* 'until' Aischylos uses five times normally. In Pers. 709: *ζηλωτὸς ὦν . . . διήγαγες* gives the desiderated continuative for *ἕως ἔλευσσε*, as Fuchs remarks. On Cho. 1026: *ἕως τ' ἔτ' ἔμφρων εἰμὶ κηρύσσω φίλοις* he ignores, as everywhere else, the causal connotation and wastes words. *ὅφρα* 'so long as' occurs once, Cho. 360, *ὅφρ' ἂν* 'until', once, Eum. 339, both in lyric passages.

For 'until' SOPHOKLES uses *ἕως* (6), *ἕστε* (4), *μέχρις οὗ* (1). *ἕως* is used only of the future, *ἂν* is omitted four times, employed twice. Again we have the doleful iteration of the proof that there is no difference between *ἕως . . . μάθης*, Ai. 555 and *ἕως ἂν μάθης*. Comp. O. R. 834: *ἕως δ' ἂν . . . ἐκμάθης*. It is as if one were to write now 'until thou learn' and then 'until thou learnest.' The subjunctive in English has a fine old flavor, and so has the simple subjunctive in Greek. The formula has been fixed and we must not look too narrowly for an intimation of finality. *ἕστε* 'until' is used in Sophokles four times, once Ai. 1183: *ἕστ' ἐγὼ μόλω* of the future, thrice of the past. *μέχρις οὗ* Ai. 571 is obelized. Phil. 1076: *χρόνον τοσοῦτον εἰς ὅσον . . . εὐξώμεθα* follows the analogy of *ἕως* and the rest. *ἕως* 'so long as' has the imperfect indicative once, El. 951: elsewhere it is used in futural sentences with the present subjunctive and always with *ἂν* in contrast to *ἕως* 'until' in which an element of finality is apt to lurk. *ἕωσπερ* occurs O. C. 1361 but Fuchs fails to note that *ἕως* is a conjecture of Reiske for the MS *ὥς*. Comp. the commentators on Ar. Pax, 24.

ὅφρα, 'so long as', occurs once in a lyrical passage without *ἂν*, El. 225—'Morituum nos salutat'—*ἕστ' ἂν*, 'so long as', once in another lyric passage, El. 105. *ἡνίκα*, El. 1167, may be translated 'so long as', as if that signified anything.

EURIPIDES yields Dr. Fuchs very little. He has to count *μένω* with the infinitive (4 times), as in Andr. 255: *οὐ μενῶ πόσιν μολεῖν*, which *pace Fuchsii* does not mean *ἕως ἂν πόσις μόλῃ*, and calls attention to *ἂμ' ἡμέρα*. The conjunctions used are: *ἕως* 'until' (6), 'so long as' (3), *ἕστε* 'until' (3), 'so long as' (2). In Rhes. 614: *κατηύνασεν . . . ἕως ἂν νύξ ἀμείψηται φάος* there is an implication of command in *κατηύνασεν*. In Hipp. 1232 we have an antecedent, *εἰς τοῦθ' ἕως* with aorist indicative. *ἕως*, 'while', with the present indicative, calls forth nearly a page of reflections. It is the semi-causal *ἕως*, 'while', 'now that'. Or. 238: *ἕως ἐῷσί σ' εὖ φρονεῖν*

¹ But why should I spend my time in explaining a conjecture? *ἕστ'* is due to Stanley. The MSS have *εἰτ'*.

'Ερινύες. ἕως, 'until', of the future always takes ἄν. The ἄν formula has become mechanical. ἕστε, 'so long as', is always used of the future and always takes ἄν.

The syntax of ARISTOPHANES is in the main the syntax of prose with the comic reserve of mischief, and there is little even for Dr. Fuchs to note. As usual, he stops to call attention to the 'Homeric' μένω with the infinitive, Lys. 75, but the most remarkable thing to him is the exclusive rule of ἕως. Of the future, ἕως ἄν with subjunctive is always used except in Pax 31: ἔρειδε, μὴ παύσαιο μηδέποτ' ἐσθίων | τέως ἕως σπαντὸν λάθης διαρραγείς, with which the commentators have made themselves busy. τέως ἕως is absurdly formal, and one is tempted to write λάθοις with Reisig and restore the regular sequence. Cf. Sobolewski, Syntaxis Aristoph., p. 146. In Eq. 133: κρατεῖν . . . ἕως γένοιτο, the optative is explained on account of the wish involved. It is, of course, very old-fashioned to speak of the shift of the moods in obedience to the shift of the tenses, but it may be worth considering that this oracle of Bakis is regarded as a revelation from a venerable past—compare the solemn reflexion, v. 124: πολλῷ γ' ὁ Βάκισ ἐχρήτο τῷ ποτηρίῳ—and the rare ἕως γένοιτο gives the mind of Bakis. The two present indicatives, Eq. 111: ἕως καθεύδει, Eccl. 83: ἕως ἔρ' ἐστὶν ἄστρα κατὰ τὸν οὐρανόν, have the usual causal connotation.

HERODOTOS uses the prepositions ἐς and μέχρι to designate the 'until' limit, e. g., ἐς ἥω and μέχρι μέσου ἡμέρης. In the dependent clause there is great variety, ἐς ὃ (ἐς ὃ ἄν), ἕως, ἕστε, ἕστ' ἄν, μέχρι οὐδ and ἄχρι οὐδ, a variety that is significant for his composite style. In Homer εἰς ὃ κε is used of the future and there is no εἰς ὃ of the past. Herodotos uses ἐς ὃ of the past as well as ἐς ὃ ἄν of the future. ἐς ὃ of the past (49 times) follows the principal clause, as εἰς ὃ κε does in Homer. The leading verb is in the imperfect, the verb of the ἐς ὃ clause is in the aorist. The exceptions in the ἐς ὃ clause are few and easily explained. In 3, 48; 4, 160; 6, 113 the participle carries the aoristic notion. In 9, 94: ἐς ὃ κατέβαινον there is overlapping, a phenomenon still too much neglected in the treatment of temporal sentences. See my L. G. 562 (S. C. G. § 223). In 4, 160: ἐς ὃ ἐγένετο should be, according to Dr. Fuchs, ἐς ὃ ἐγένετο.¹ In the leading clause the aorist is found five times instead of the normal imperfect, but here again the durative participle is at work, and when it is not we can easily read the

¹ No change is necessary. Note the shift of subject. ἐς ὃ ἐν Λεύκωνί τε . . . ἐγένετο ἐπιδιώκων καὶ ἔδοξε τοῖσι Δίβυσσι ἐπιθέσθαι οἱ.

durative into ἀσπαστῶς (4, 201) and the iterative into αὐτῆς (6, 24). In 3, 104 and 4, 181 ἐς δ is used with the present indicative. This, according to Dr. Fuchs, is due to the emphasis laid on the facts. ἐς δ is a relative, and the relative is freer than the temporal particles in the designation of repeated actions. That is all. Contrast ὁπότε and ὁσάκις and compare S. C. G. §§ 365, 366. In futural sentences ἐς δ regularly takes ἄν. In 6, 86 γ, εἰς δ κε occurs in a quotation from an oracle and does not count. In 9, 58 we have for the first time the indicative of the future about which Dr. Fuchs makes a great ado; διωκτέος εἰσὶ (οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι) ἐς δ καταλαμφθέντες δώσουσι ἡμῖν τῶν δὴ ἐποίησαν πάντων δίκας. The unusual construction is brachylogical and the aorist participle is responsible for the shift—'until they are caught and then they will pay for it'. The shift is helped further by the use of the future indicative as a final in relative sentences, e. g. ὅπως. Fuchs sees in the construction certainty, I see in it grimness. In 3, 31; 8, 108 ἄν is omitted—Fuchs says 7, 108, one of the not infrequent false references in the book. In the latter instance there may be a shade of purpose. Finally, ἐς δ, 'until', takes the *oratio obliqua* infinitive in 1, 94, 202; 2, 102; 5, 85, 86. This *oratio obliqua* slurring of dependent constructions is not common in Greek, more common in Herodotos than in most authors. It is another manifestation of his genial *laissez aller*.

In Herodotos ἕως is usually 'so long as', with the imperfect six times, with the present indicative once, 3, 134: ἕως νέος εἰς ἡλικίην with the usual connotation—'seeing that—still'. In its 'primitive sense' 'a while'—suppressed correlative—it occurs 1, 173; 9, 6. ἕως, 'until', occurs twice with aorist indicative (7, 23; 7, 100), once, 4, 42, with the present infinitive in *oratio obliqua* (like ἐς δ, above), ἀπικνέσθαι, where ἀπικέσθαι might be expected. But notice the plural πλοίοισι. ἔστε, 'so long as', is always used of the future (four times) and always takes ἄν; ἔστε, 'until', three times, always with ἄν. ἔστε, 'until', with the present infinitive, occurs in a foreshortened *oratio obliqua* sentence, 7, 171: ἔστε . . . νέμεσθαι. Fuchs explains the passage: ἔστε τὸ δεύτερον ἐρημωθείσης Κρήτης . . . αὐτὴν νῦν νέμεσθαι Κρήτας as = ἔστε Κρήτην ἐρημωθῆναι ὥστε νῦν νέμεσθαι Κρήτας. Straightening out *oratio obliqua* is not always profitable business even in Greek, in which *oratio obliqua* is more simple than it is in Latin (L. G. § 649, note). The case is not unlike 9, 94. A. J. P. III 515. μέχρι is used as a preposition, ἄχαι much more rarely. Odd is the quasi-fusion of μέχρι οὐ as a preposition,

as 2, 19: *μέχρι οὐ τροπέων τῶν θερινέων*. It is a good lesson in thoughtlessness. *μέχρι* occurs twice as a conjunction, once, 'while', with imperfect indicative (4, 3), with a shift in the structure of the sentence, once, 'until', with *ἴδωμεν*, no *ἄν* (4, 119). Elsewhere *μέχρι οὐ*, 'until', with the normal aorist. The optative in the whole group is so rare that it is worth noting (2, 179) due to indefinite frequency, 'Modusverschiebung', or what you will. *μέχρι ὅσου* occurs 8, 3: *μέχρι ὅσου κάρτα ἐδέοντο*. It is a case of overlapping. *ἄχρι οὐ* is found *ἄχρι οὐ τελευτήσῃ* (no *ἄν*) 1, 117.

We now come to the irregular genius about whom so much grammatical scandal is afloat, THUKYDIDES, to wit. In Thukydides also we have prepositional expressions of limit *μέχρι Πυθίων*, we have *ἐπιμένω* and *τηρῶ* with infinitive, 3, 2, 2; 4, 26, 7. We have *ἄμα* with the dative, *ἄμα ἡμέρᾳ* and with the participle 2, 6, 3: *ἄμα τῇ ἐσόδῳ γιγνομένην*. The conjunctions of limit are *ἕως*, *μέχρι*, *μέχρι οὐ*. Our irregular genius spurns, as it would seem, the irregular *ἔστε*. Statistics are idle. In futural sentences *ἕως ἄν* 'until' with aorist subjunctive is the inflexible rule.¹ Of the past the 'until' limit is given by *ἕως* with aorist indicative. There are two optatives, both of the 'partial obliquity' order, one in the aorist, 5, 35, 4, the other 3, 102, 7: *ἕως . . . τοῖς Ἀμπρακιώταις . . . δέοι βοηθεῖν*, = *ἕως πύθοιτο δέον*, overlapping, as already explained. Fuchs puts the thing otherwise.

ἕως, 'so long as', of the future takes the present subjunctive with *ἄν*. There are eight passages in which we find *ἕως* with present indicative, 1, 78, 4; 3, 70, 6; 5, 9, 6; 6, 17, 1; 6, 49, 1; 7, 47, 3; 8, 40, 3, and Fuchs repeats his formula 'and it is really so', and I call attention to the invariably causal connotation. *ἕως* 'so long as' occurs six times with imperfect indicative. The leading clause has the aorist three times instead of the normal imperfect, not an unparalleled irregularity (see above, p. 399). *μέχρι* 'until' occurs once, elsewhere *μέχρι οὐ* with aorist indicative (9 times). *μέχρι οὐ* 'until' with the present indicative 1, 76, 2 may be translated 'until now when' (that). *μέχρι οὐ* with the aorist subjunctive is used of the future three times with, twice without *ἄν*. According to Fuchs *μέχρι* 'so long as' occurs three times, *μέχρι οὐ* once, but strangely enough he counts here 1, 137, 2: *μέχρι . . . γένηται* where *μέχρι* is clearly 'until'. In 3, 98, 1 there is a trace of the original

¹ No notice is taken of 1, 90, 3: *ἕως ἄν αἰρωσι*, where *ἄρωσι* is an unnecessary emendation of Bekker's. See Shilleto ad loc. and Morris's ed. of Classen Appendix, p. 327 and A. J. P. IV 417.

parataxis—to the great joy of Fuchs. After all, then, even Thukydides could not withstand the pressure of formula; and with the exception of an occasional omission of *ἄν*, after the manner of his forbears, he behaves surprisingly well.¹

The ORATORS offer little sport. They are wearisomely regular and Fuchs lumps them all except Lysias, Isokrates and Demosthenes. Under the head of the minor orators, then, Fuchs thinks it worth while to record *μέχρι χρόνου* and *πρὸ ἡλίου δεδυκότος* and *ἐπιμένειν* and *περιμένειν* with infinitive. In Andok. 1, 81: *τέως* is used as it is Soph. Ai. 558 'up to the time' mentioned. All this is uninteresting, as is the fact that *ἕως* 'until' takes the aorist indicative with the leading clause in the imperfect. As usual, Fuchs agonizes over an occasional summarizing aorist, Andok. 3, 29: *παρέσχεν . . . πεντακισχίλια τάλαντα ἕως κατέλυσεν ἡμῶν τὴν δύναμιν*. On the aorist with definite numbers, see S. C. G., § 243. Cf. Aischin. 3, 104 (false reference in Fuchs). In futural sentences, *ἕως* 'until' takes the aorist subjunctive with *ἄν*, which is never omitted. The optative after a past tense occurs three times, Andok. 1, 81; Isai. 1, 10 and 7, 8 but under Andok. 1, 81: *ἕως αὐτοὶ οἱ νόμοι τεθεῖεν*, Fuchs should have mentioned that *αὐτοὶ* is due to conjecture. In an Attic writer one is inclined to suspect adherescence, S. C. G. § 448. The *ἄν* is perfectly explicable—'until such time as in all likelihood the laws would be (and they must be) made.' See above, p. 393. In Isaios we have 7, 8 the oddity *ἕως οὐ* instead of the simple *ἕως* just as we have seen *μέχρι οὐ* for the simple *μέχρι*. It is very suspicious. *μέχρις ἄν* 'until' with aorist subjunctive occurs just once, Dein. 1, 91. One wonders whether the *κρίθινος Δημοσθένης* brought it over with him from Corinth in his portmanteau. *ἕως* 'so long as' takes the imperfect indicative of the past; *ἕως ἄν* is found with the present subjunctive of a universal principle. Citation unnecessary. *ὅτε*, Aisch. 1, 102, Isai. 11, 26 may be translated 'so long as' and so may *ἥνικα* Andok. 3, 3—but that is beside the mark.

Lysias has *τέως* 7, 12; 21, 19 in the phrase *ἐν τῷ τέως χρόνῳ* 'up to date'; *ἀναμένω* and *περιμένω* take the infinitive, but 33, 8 we find *οὐδ' ἀναμείναι ἕως ἂν ἔλθωσιν*. *ἕως* is perfectly normal although Fuchs emphasizes the solitary use of an aorist in the leading clause of an 'until' *ἕως*. In a futural sentence it takes *ἄν*. In 13, 25 we have the optative. This is due to 'innerliche Abhängig-

¹ Cf. A. J. P. XXIII 140.

keit.' Doubtless true. But the old-fashioned grammarian notices that the optative follows a past tense and omits the ultimate explanation, such as it is. Not without interest is the statement that instead of the formula *οὐ πρότερον—πρίν*, we have *οὐ πρότερον—ἕως* (A. J. P. IV 91)—an illustration of the progress of formula. The conception is 'until' and the expression becomes 'until'. So we find at a later period *οὐ πρότερον—ἐὰν μή*.¹ On Lys. 33, 8: *ἕως ἔτι ἔξεστι* it is not necessary to waste words.

Under *ἕως*, 'until', we learn that ISOKRATES is guilty once of the aorist indicative instead of the normal imperfect in the leading clause. It is the very passage in which *οὐ πρότερον—ἕως* occurs for *οὐ πρότερον—πρίν* (17, 12), and the aorist is accounted for by the negative. *ἕως ἂν* w. aorist subjunctive is perfectly regular. *ἕως* 'until' has the optative (17, 15) 'innerlich abhängig.' Fuchs forgets to state that the MSS have *ἕως ἂν τάλῃθ' ὀδέσειεν*. The omission of *ἂν* is due to Dobree. Under *ἕως*, 'so long as', only four instances are recorded—all normal. *ἕως ἂν* with present subjunctive is found in a generic sentence (4, 6)—another false reference in Fuchs!² 16, 37: *ἕως* is part of an unreal condition. *ὅτε* 'so long as' is a mere matter of translation, as I have said before.

When Fuchs comes to DEMOSTHENES, the heart of the statistician beats higher. There are 25 prepositional combinations with *μέχρι* and a number with *ἄχρι* and we actually find 27, 2: *μέχρι τοῦ διεξελθεῖν* and 21, 189: *ἄχρι τοῦ μηδὲν ἐνοχλεῖν* (A. J. P. VIII 332) and *τέως* also has its innings. 1, 7 *ἕως* 'until' of the past is normal, with the exception of the intrusion of the aorist into the leading clause. In 44, 24: *ἕως καταλειφθεῖς τετελεύτηκεν* = *κατελείφθη καὶ τετελεύτηκεν* with which comp. 3, 7. In 18, 32 *ὠνεῖται . . . ἕως . . . ποιήσαιο*, the leading verb is an historical present. In 4, 1: *ἐπισχῶν ἂν ἕως οἱ πλείστοι . . . ἀπεφάναντο*, the *ἕως* clause is a part of the unreal situation. *ἕως*, 'until', in futural sentences is perfectly normal. *ἂν* is used without exception. The optative occurs under the usual conditions, 27, 5; 29, 43; 33, 8.

ἕως, 'so long as', of the past takes the imperfect. 39, 13: *χρώμενον ὁρᾶτε = ὁρᾶτε ὅτι ἐχρῆτο*. The aorist intrudes twice out of twelve times in the leading clause. *ἕως* with indicative of the present and *ἕως ἂν* with the present subjunctive are used in

¹ Diphilus (4, 394 M.): *οὐ γὰρ βαδίζω πρότερον ἂν μὴ δοκιμάσω τίς ἐσθ' ὁ θύων*.

² Fuchs's false references seem to be largely due to the use of Roman numerals. They are none the less irritating.

accordance with the observations already made. *ἔως* with the present indicative has the causal connotation ('now that'), *ἔως ἄν* is generic. *ἄχρι οὗ* is found in the spurious 10, 51 and *μέχρι* in a law cited in 21, 47. *ἤνικα* Fuchs chooses to translate 'so long as', 18, 46; 23, 120; 24, 111, and he notes the relative expression, *ὅσον χρόνον* = *ἔως*, 4, 21; 59, 29.

The high hopes with which we approached Demosthenes are dashed. Not only Demosthenes but other members of the Demosthenean corpus are perfectly well-behaved. How is it with PLATO and his mobile genius? He uses *τέως* as 'up to that time', Lach. 183 E¹; Symp. 191 B. *τέως* is used like *ἔως*, Symp. 191 E. Noteworthy is *ἔως*, 'until', with aorist indicative in an unreal sentence, Cratyl. 396 C. In Phaedo 59 D we have the optative of indefinite frequency, the so-called iterative, the optative of partial obliquity. *ἔως*, 'until', takes the aorist indicative of the past, the aorist subjunctive (antecedent action) of the future. The 46 'until' *ἔως*'s in futural sentences are in the main uninteresting—a monotonous series of *ἔως ἄν*'s with the aorist subjunctive. Once we have the optative in an ideal conditional complex, Leges 752 C: *εἰ δὲ μείναιμὲν πως τοσούτον χρόνον ἔως . . . κοινωνήσειαν*. Instead of the aorist subjunctive we find occasionally the overlapping present subjunctive, as Lys. 209 A: *οὐκ ἀναμένουσιν ἔως* (reference not given by Fuchs) *ἄν ἡλικίαν ἔχῃς* ('until and after'). In Soph. 239 C: *ἔως ἄν ἐντυγχάνωμεν*. In Phil. 55 C the participle (*κατιδόντας*) causes the switch and *ἄν* is switched off with it. *ἔως*, w. aorist optative, Rpb. 600 E, is passed over lightly by Fuchs. It depends on an unreal imperfect. Comp. A. J. P. IV 441. *ἔως*, 'so long as', is used once with *ἀφειστήκη* pluperfect indicative = imperfect. In futural sentences *ἔως ἄν* is used with present subjunctive. There are three present indicatives. Apol. 37 E: *ἔως ἔξεστιν*; Phaed. 89 C; Parm. 135 D ('while' and 'because'). Ellipsis of present indicative is found, Legg. 789 E. Old-fashioned *περ* occurs with *ἔως* six times.

μέχρι is less frequently employed than *ἔως* and only in a small number of dialogues. Symp. Protag. Kritias, Soph. and Phil. once each, in the Republic twice, in Timaeus and Politicus three times, and, which is significant, fourteen times in the Laws against eleven instances of *ἔως*. It is a wonder that some one has not

¹ In the Laches passage, the point of reference follows, *τέως μὲν . . . ἐπεὶ δὲ δῆ*, and Ast translates *aliquamdiu*, a good illustration of the demonstrative origin of the indefinite use.

scented in this use of *μέχρι* a deliberate flout at the orators, who avoided the conjunction so scrupulously. The simple *μέχρι* is used but once, Symp. 220 D: *εἰσθήκει μέχρι ἕως ἐγένετο*, where *ἕως ἕως* would have been artistically impossible. *μέχρι περ* occurs 22 times, *μέχρι οὐ* twice, *μέχρι οὐπερ* once.

μέχρι, 'until', occurs once with the aorist indicative (l. c.); elsewhere in futural sentences, fourteen times with the aorist subj., five times with the present. The present tenses are worth noting as examples of overlapping, and they ought not to be slumped with the others, as Fuchs has done. They are Polit. 260 B; Legg. 723 E, *εἰρησθαι δοκῇ*, where the perfect infinitive helps; 807 B: *ἢ . . . κατεσκευασμένα*, 933 E (cf. Lys. 209 A), 947 B. Comp. A. J. P. XXIII 472. In Tim. 56 D we find: *γῆ . . . φέροιτ' ἄν . . . μέχριπερ ἂν αὐτῆς πῇ ξυντυχόντα τὰ μέρη . . . γῆ γένοιτο*. The neighborhood of *αὐτῆς* makes *ἄν* a suspicious character. *μέχριπερ* (*μέχρι οὐ*) 'so long as' occurs six times, once with the imperfect indicative, five times in futural sentences, always with *ἄν*. *ἔστε*, as we have seen, occurs but once if even once, Symp. 211 C.

XENOPHON is the naughty boy of Attic syntax and we expect him to misbehave, but even he is fairly conventional. *μέχρι τριάκοντα ἐτῶν* is not a novelty, and we have met *μέχρι* with the articular infinitive before, so that we are not surprised at *μέχρι τοῦ συγκαταμιγνύναι*, Hiero, 6, 2, (false reference in Fuchs). *μέχρι* and *ἄχρι* are further used to strengthen *ἐπὶ* and *εἰς*, and *ἔστε* is so used once, Anab. 4, 5, 6: *ἔστε ἐπὶ τὸ δάπεδον. ἅμα ἡμέρα, ἅμα ἡλίφ δύνοντι* require no comment. We find *ἀναμένειν* with *ἕως*, Hell. 6, 4, 26. We also find the accusative of a verbal noun, Hell. 5, 4, 13, *τὴν βοήθειαν* and the articular infinitive, Symp. 4, 41: *τὸ δεηθῆναι*. <Add *περιμένειν* with *μέχρι*, Hell. 1, 3, 11, *ἀναμένειν* with *ἔστε*, Cyr. 8, 1, 44>.

The conjunctions employed by Xenophon are *ἕως*, *ἔστε*, *μέχρι*, *μέχρι οὐ*, *ἄχρι οὐ*. *ἕως*, 'until', of the past takes the aorist, according to the rule, which Fuchs always calls lovingly 'our' rule, as if it were made in Aschaffenburg and were not the common property of all Grecians. There is, however, one notorious exception. Cyrop. 1, 3, 7: *τοιαῦτα ἐποίει Κῦρος ἕως διεδίδου πάντα ἃ ἔλαβε κρέα*. This imperfect Fuchs explains as due to the notion of repetition. If this is so we should have expected the aorist optative, *διαδοίη*. 'Overlapping' would answer. 'Until he saw that he was distributing' or 'so long as' (see A. J. P. IV 417). In the leading clause the imperfect is the rule (11 times), but the aorist occurs four times and the historical present once. After

futural expressions and futural implications we have *ἕως ἄν* with the aorist subjunctive as a rule. Two exceptions are cited, *ἕως ἄν ἤκωσι*, which, in view of the familiar use of *ἤκω* is no exception, and *ἕως ἄν ἀνὴρ ᾧ*, where we have overlapping.¹ In Hell. 4, 4, 9. Fuchs accepts the traditional reading, *ἕως δὴ οἱ σύμμαχοι βοηθήσονται αὐτοῖς*, where one is tempted to write *βοηθήσαιεν*, but *βοηθήσονται* is supported by Cyrop. 7, 5, 39: *ἄνδρες φίλοι περιμένετε, ἕως τὸν ὄχλον διωσόμεθα* where the indicative future—of which *βοηθήσονται* is supposed to be the *oratio obliqua*—is explained as expressing certainty. It is a wonder that this simple device had not occurred to Xenophon elsewhere. *ἕως*, 'so long as', takes the imperfect indicative of the past. *ἕως ἄν* is used in futural sentences. The indicative present occurs four times and there is one (*oratio obliqua*) optative, see above, Hell. 5, 4, 37, the one that had escaped me.² *ἕως* occurs twice with *περ* and in four passages *ἕως* is = *ἐν* *ᾧ*, not *ἐν* *ὅσῳ*, Cyr. 3, 3, 4; 6, 1, 1 *ἕως*—*ἐν* *τούτῳ*; 6, 3, 21; Hell. 4, 7, 3.

Most distinctly manifest is the naughtiness of Xenophon in his abounding use of *ἕσπε*, which he employs 25 times, 21 times in the sense of 'until', four times in the sense of 'so long as', Anab. 3, 1, 19; Mem. 1, 2, 18; 3, 5, 6; De re eq. 11, 9. The anomalous aorist in Mem. 3, 5, 6: *ἕστ' ἄν δείσῃσι*, Fuchs does not succeed in explaining. Read *δεδίωσι*. Moods and tenses are normal. *μέχρι* is more common (11 times) than *μέχρι οὗ* (3 times). *ἄχρι ἄν σχολάσῃ* occurs, An. 2, 3, 2; *ἄχρι οὗ ὅδε ὁ λόγος ἐγράφετο*, Hell. 6, 4, 37, overlapping, of which Fuchs makes no note.

For the Attic Inscriptions Fuchs depends on Meisterhans. I do not give an abstract of the chapter on results, because from my point of view there is nothing of vital importance to record. The scheme of *ἕως*, which I published twenty years ago, holds now as it did then, and the light that comes from parataxis is darkness.

BASIL L. GILDERSLEEVE.

¹ The third to which he refers but which he does not cite is X. Cyr. 3, 3, 18, explained A. J. P. IV 417.

² A. J. P. XII 123.

III.—LIVY'S USE OF ARUNT, ERUNT AND ERE.

Livy's fondness for the form in *ere* has often been commented upon in a general way. To him, who in the love of Livy holds communion with the commentaries and grammatical treatises which have appeared "since first the flight of years began," they do not speak a various language. There is no commentary or treatise where the same voice is not heard. "Semper ego auditor tantum?"

If we turn for information to the recognized standard authority upon the subject, Neue's Formenlehre d. lat. Spr., revised by Wagener, we find the same unsatisfactory statement. Here, again, the form in *erunt* is not taken into consideration, the relative frequency of the form in *ere* in the various books and decades is not taken into account, and unless such a comparison is made, our knowledge profiteth us nothing.¹ The statement made on III³ p. 192 is clearly open to criticism not only for this reason, but, as will appear later, for another as well. He says: "nicht selten ist bei Livius ere statt erunt, so z. B. besonders aus dem 21 Buch." This book was probably "besonders" mentioned, because it is so often read in the schools, but other books illustrate his fondness for this form in a more decided way. As a matter of fact, in XXI *ere* = only 42.7% of all the forms possible, but in III *ere* is as high as 77.2%, in II *ere* = 73.6%, in VI *ere* = 64.7%, in IV *ere* = 64.1%. In fact all of the bks. of the 1st decade have a higher percentage except VII, VIII and IX. While one could hardly expect Neue-Wagener to give a complete list of all the verbs in the Latin language together with all their occurrences, one can at least expect that, if a certain book of Livy is selected, and certain verbs are given, such a list would be complete. Such a list would have some value. But in the bk. selected there are 12 passages omitted, and in the verbs selected there are 228 occurrences in the other books not cited.²

¹ In this investigation we have used the Weissenborn-Mueller edition, with the exception of bks. I to VI, and XXXI-XL, where Zingerle's edition was used.

² For Bk. 21 the following are omitted: *contendere* 25, 13; 56, 5; *excidere* 28, 12; *evadere* 28, 12; *insidere* 34, 9; *pervenere* 47, 3; *recepere* 49, 12; *detractavere*

As is well known, Livy's style is different in the 3rd decade, and later, from that in the first (cf. e. g. Archiv für lat. Lex. IV, 207 f. and especially X, 64 f.). Livy's use of *ere* further illustrates this difference: in the 1st decade *ere* = 54.7%, dropping however to 25.7% in the 3rd, and to 13.5% in the 4th. This regular decrease of about a half is noteworthy. The explanation will be given later. The following table will show the number of times Livy uses the forms in *runt* (*erunt* and *arunt*) and in *ere* in each book and decade, and the percentage of *ere* forms in each.

FIRST DECADE			THIRD DECADE		
runt	ere	% ere	runt	ere	% ere
1....28	41	59.4	21....51	38	42.7
2....33	92	73.6	22....64	38	37.2
3....26	88	77.2	23....80	19	19.2
4....37	66	64.1	24....81	23	22.1
5....45	58	56.3	25....70	25	25.3
6....24	44	64.7	26....77	17	18.1
7....46	31	40.3	27....72	42	36.9
8....50	29	36.7	28....72	14	16.3
9....74	30	28.8	29....63	16	20.3
10....48	42	46.6	30....58	14	19.4

49, 13; *fuere* 50, 5; 59, 2; *constitere* 58, 3 and *mansere* 58, 11 (= 12). The verbs mentioned also occur in: *decrevere* 5, 15, 2; 26, 28, 3; 27, 37, 7; 35, 41, 2; 43, 15, 4; *quievere* 8, 7, 20; 13, 8; 40, 30, 7; *detrahere* 3, 60, 6; 26, 11, 11; *turbare* 27, 30, 11; 38, 13, 2; *excivere* 1, 28, 3; *complevere* 29, 3, 8; *implevere* 45, 31, 6; *accepere* 1, 60, 2; 3, 60, 8; 4, 8, 5; 31, 3; 5, 37, 4; 8, 27, 2; 9, 40, 14; 43, 13; 10, 5, 8; 25, 5; 27, 2, 7; 28, 33, 13; 29, 14, 12; 30, 8, 6; 37, 42, 6; 38, 3, 5; 42, 63, 12; 44, 12, 2 (only 3 were given instead of 18): *fecere* 1, 23, 3; 37, 2; 41, 3; 2, 31, 10; 34, 10; 49, 9; 3, 1, 8; 4, 35, 3; 40, 2; 5, 31, 2; 48, 3; 6, 9, 11; 10, 1, 8; 27, 1, 6; 27, 5; 37, 53, 28 (only 2 given instead of 16): *gesere* 6, 1, 1; 28, 4, 1; 38, 53, 11; *descivere* 45, 25, 11; *scripsere* 3, 4, 1; 6, 38, 9; 7, 18, 2; 10, 11, 9; 30, 5; *evasere* 2, 42, 10; 59, 8; 3, 3, 8; 10, 17, 7; 21, 28, 12; 22, 6, 8; 28, 11, 14; *petiere* 3, 1, 8; 4, 2; 5, 38, 10; 8, 2, 9; 9, 13, 4; 10, 37, 4; 31, 41, 7; 45, 15; 42, 62, 10; 45, 4, 6 (10); *tulere* 2, 40, 12; 3, 6, 5; 9, 30, 3; 27, 4, 8; 10; 31, 27, 7; 35, 7; 34, 20, 7; 35, 51, 9; 36, 24, 10 (10); for *fuere* but 3 are cited, and 21, 19, 11 for 21, 5, 11; *fuere* occurs 39 times in the 1st decade, 26 in the 3rd, 20 in the 4th, and 8 in 41-5; for *venere* 5 are omitted in the 1st decade, 4 in the 3rd, and 1 in the 4th (cf. p. 414); *convenere* (4, 6, 25 is cited where *attulere* is read), 1, 9, 7; 47, 9; 6, 28, 4; 24, 18, 10; 12; 25, 10, 7; 33, 16, 3; 38, 41, 6 (8); *pervenere* 8, 13, 4; 30, 2, 10; 45, 11 (cf. also p. 422); *iere* 10, 33, 6; 25, 38, 21; 31, 37, 8; 12; *rediere* 8, 23, 10; 26, 5; 22, 59, 18; 24, 16, 15; 27, 26, 6; 29, 35, 1; 30, 25, 4; 34, 46, 7; 35, 38, 12; 38, 3, 6; 39, 24, 5; 42, 60, 2 (only 3 given instead of 15); *subiere* 8, 10, 3; (*audiere* cited for 25, 39, 1 instead of 38, 23; *iere* 3, 36, 6 for 66, 6; *abiere* 2, 7, 2 for 2, 7, 3; *proiere* 1, 37, 2 for *periere*). There are in all 228 passages omitted.

FOURTH DECADE

runt	ere	% ere
31... 80	32	28.6
32... 69	9	11.5
33... 91	15	14.1
34... 90	15	13.5
35... 73	18	19.8
36... 84	6	6.6
37... 130	23	14.4
38... 176	24	12.0
39... 120	5	4.0
40... 133	11	7.6

XLI-XLV

runt	ere	% ere
41... 58	2	3.3
42... 105	11	9.5
43... 57	7	10.9
44... 55	6	9.8
45... 58	12	17.1

(For the relative number of *arunt* forms cf. p. 415 infra).

NOTES.

1) It is only in the first 6 books that Livy prefers the form in *re* to that in *runt*, the average for these books being 65.9%, while in the last four books of this decade *ere* averages only 38.1%.

2) Livy's usage of *ere* shows some interesting contrasts. In III it reaches to 77.2%, in II to 73.6%, but in XLI it has fallen as low as 3.3%, in XXXIX to 4%, and in XXXVI to 6.6%.

3) Books XLI to XLV, which have not been recently revised, form an exception to the general tendency for the *ere* forms to drop to about a half. While the average for *ere* in the 4th decade was 13.5%, in XLI-XLV instead of being half, it is 10.1%. This difference will also be considered later.

4) An interesting contrast occurs between Livy's usage and that of the author of the Periochae. In the 1st decade *ere* = 54.7%, but in the Periochae to these books *ere* = only 17.6% (*runt* = 14, *ere* = 3); so, also in Books 21-45 Livy uses *ere* 1955 times, but in the Periochae it was not used at all. It is worthy of note that *ere* is found but once in the Periochae from 9-143 and that is in 116, *praestitere*.

I. GENERAL OBSERVATIONS.

As remarked above, Livy shows a decided preference for the *ere* forms in the 1st decade, and later his attitude changes. In order to discover the explanation of this phenomenon, three different factors were taken into consideration.

A. THE ARCHAIC INFLUENCE.

The preponderance of the forms in *ere* in the 1st decade is in part explained by the preponderance of these forms in the archaic

sources which Livy employed for this decade. The form *ere* is without doubt to be regarded as an archaism. In Cato the citations usually show *ere* (cf. Neue-Wagener III³ p. 190). Cato was Sallust's model, his "bevorzugtes Muster" (Archiv X. 22), Sallust used *ere* 114 times (Cat. = 53, Iug. = 61) to the form in *erunt* only 8 times (Cat. = 4, Iug. = 4). Since *ere* was a favorite form in Sallust, to the extent of even 93.4%, we may safely conclude that *ere* was a favorite form in Cato also, that is, that it was not only common in that writer, but also in the Archaic sources Livy had before him (The S. C. de Bacch., which appeared during Cato's life time, has *ere* 4 times, but *erunt* only once. On the other hand, the Lex Anton. de Termess. of 71 B. C. has only the form in *erunt*). As Cato influenced Sallust's style, so Sallust influenced Livy's style; Schmalz, Synt. u. Stil.³ cites at least 15 phrases which Sallust coined and Livy adopted, and at least 22 which are common first in Sallust and Livy.

The conclusion is clear that, as the great stylists of the golden age, Cicero,¹ Cæsar,² and Nepos, either did not use the form at all or very rarely, Livy's use of the form *ere* is partly due to the sources he used, partly due to the influence of Sallust. But this is not all, there still remains

B. THE POETIC INFLUENCE.

The influence of the poets upon Livy's style has been ably discussed in Archiv X, 17 f. Schmalz, Synt. u. Stil.³ cites at least 55 poetic constructions which Livy introduces into prose, and this list could be easily further extended. As Ennius had an influence upon Livy's style, it is interesting to note that in the fragments, *ere* was used 13 times to *erunt* 4 times.³ Poetical usage may be better illustrated from Vergil.⁴ Vergil uses in all *ere* 224 times

¹ Cf. Arch. f. Lat. Lex. III, 297; Neue-Wagener III³, p. 191, say for Cicero that but 2 passages are certain, Fam. 10, 192 and Lig. 1, 2, 6.

² Cf. Arch. f. Lat. Lex. XI, 508.

³ Lindsay, Lat. Lang. p. 532 says: "Ennius, however, seems to prefer *erunt* to *ere* in his Annals." As a matter of fact in the Annals *ere* is found 3 times as often as *erunt*, 12 to 4 (*ere*: fr. 24, 141, 144, 155, 232, 246, 290, 298, 299, 326, 392, 443 to *erunt* fr. 73, 315, 412, 448, Baehr. Fr.).

⁴ Neue-Wagener III³ p. 196 cite Wotke, Wiener Studien 1886 p. 131, but Wotke does not give the relative frequency of the *ere* and *erunt* forms and omits 6 passages for *erunt*; Æn. 3, 47; 363; 10, 139; 443; 11, 300; and 12, 710.

to *runt* 45 times, i. e. *ere* = 83.3%. It is interesting to note that there is a steady increase in the use of the form in *ere*; in Ecl. *ere* = 55.5%, $\begin{cases} runt = 8; \\ ere = 10; \end{cases}$ in Geo. *ere* = 76.4%, $\begin{cases} runt = 13; \\ ere = 42; \end{cases}$ and in *Æn.* *ere* = 87.8%, $\begin{cases} runt = 24. \\ ere = 172. \end{cases}$ This decided preference for *ere* in Vergil is even more marked than would at first appear from the above. The fact of the matter is, he only uses the longer form *metri gratia*, or at the end of the 4th ft. (bucolic diaeresis). It is noteworthy that *ere* was used only 17 times at the end of the verse, 15 of these being *dedere*¹ and 2 *tulere*. The form *dederunt* was not used at all by Vergil, and *tulerunt* only in Ecl. 5, 34; Geo. 2, 422 (Geo. 2, 454 is bracketed by Thilo).

The preference for the form *ere* in Ennius and Vergil, and the additional fact that poetic forms and phrases are more frequent in the 1st decade, lead one to conclude that the preponderance of the *ere* forms in this decade are the resultant of two forces, the archaic and the poetic, and the regular decrease in their use in the later decades by the change in Livy's style from a poetic to a prose style and to the stricter forms and norms of classicality.

C. THE INFLUENCE OF THE SERMO FAMILIARIS.

This can be dismissed in a few words. Although colloquialisms were continually making inroads into the higher forms of literature, and some are found in the language of Livy, colloquial influence can not be called in to explain his use of the form *ere*.

The *sermo familiaris*, here as elsewhere, preferred in general the fuller form. A few illustrations may be cited: in the Bell. Afr. $\begin{cases} runt = 46, \\ ere = 2, \end{cases}$ i. e. *ere* = 4.2%; in Bell. Hisp.² $\begin{cases} runt = 74, \\ ere = 2, \end{cases}$ i. e. *ere* = 2.6%; and in the prose of Petronius³ $\begin{cases} runt = 74, \\ ere = 11, \end{cases}$ i. e. *ere* = 12.9%; in his verse only *ere* was used (11 times); so Vitruvius has only the form *erunt*. Cf. also the Romance form.

¹Of the 6 forms in *ere* at the end of the verse in Ovid, Met., *dedere* constitutes 5.

²Neue-Wagener III⁸ p. 192 cite Bell. Hisp. 24.8 instead of 24.1 for *convenere*. Cf. also Archiv XII (1902) p. 166.

³Neue-Wagener III⁸ p. 197 cite for *ere* only one passage, *quasivere* 124, 265; 21 are omitted: *abduxere* 114; *accessere* 33; *concurrere* 54; *consonuere* 78; *dedere* 74; *divisere* 33; *excipere* 113; *exclamavere* 34; *intermisere* 109; *inunda-*

As a striking illustration of a complete change in attitude toward these forms may be cited 36, 17, 9; 41, 27, 8; 38, 38 f.; 34, 5, 7; 38, 1, 6, etc., where the form in *runt* is used a number of times, but the form in *re* not at all. Such passages clearly show that with Livy other considerations had greater weight, the return to the norm established by Cic. and Caes., than a fondness for variety of expression, which, in general, may account for his retention of the *ere* form. The two forms are often used in the same sentence, making it clear that no rule can be formulated to the effect that the *ere* form is preferred in more elevated, more poetical passage, as some have maintained.

As a general thing, the fuller form is preferred at the end, as, e. g. *runt* is used here 24 times in XXII to *re* but 6, in XXIX, *runt* 27 times to *re* only 4 times. This is particularly the case when both forms are used in the same sentence, as, e. g. 21, 15, 5; 25, 12; 22, 1, 3; 27, 37, 6; 29, 2, 2; 31, 15, 11, etc.

Many passages could be cited to show that Livy had emancipated himself from the laws that govern the rhythmical clausula (cf. Norden, *Kunstprosa*, p. 936), e. g. *in castra* is followed by 4 long syllables in 21, 56, 5 and 22, 18, 4, but by $\cup \cup - \cup$ in 21, 56, 7, and $\cup - - -$ in 22, 60, 25; cf. *venerunt* in 21, 24, 5; 22, 20, 9; 21, 3 with 21, 20, 1; 18, 3, etc. The same rhythm, however, occurs with *Placentiam* in 21, 47, 3 and 56, 5; with *tumultus* in 21, 25, 3 and 22, 48, 4; and with *Cannas* in 22, 49, 13 and 60, 18.

The following letter, whether a vowel or a consonant, was also considered in seeking for an explanation of the use of the vocalic or consonantal ending of the verb form. The conclusion has been that the influence exerted, if any, was slight, as, e. g. in the 3rd dec. *re* was used before a vowel 39 times, and almost as often before a consonant (34); in the 4th dec., the difference was slightly greater, 35 to 27.

II. LIVY'S USAGE IN DETAIL.

The conjugation to which a verb belonged had some influence in determining the form used. Excluding such irregular verbs as *sum*, *do*, *coepi*, etc., the following peculiarities were observed:

vere 113; *procurrere* 114, and in poetry *cecidere* 109; *emisuere* 127; 136; *fregere* 119; 123; *incaluere* 123; *meruere* 108; *patuere* 122; *stupuere* 108; and *surripuere* 119.

a) In all the decades from 61 to 67% of all the forms in *erunt* belong to the 3rd conj., and about 62% of all the forms in *ere* in every decade except in first half of 5th. The majority of all the verbs in *runt* and *re* belongs to the 3rd conj., and, with the exception of the 1st decade, the *runt* forms are always preferred to the *re* forms.

b). While in the 1st and 2nd conj. the *ere* forms outnumber those in *runt*, in the 4th conj. they were less used. The use of *venio* and its compounds will appear in the following table:

Decade.	<i>erunt</i> .	<i>ere</i> .	% <i>ere</i> .
1st	29	12	29.3
3rd	61	16	20.8
4th	91	7	7.1
41-5	35	1	2.8
Total	216	36	14.3

It is clear from the above that with *venio* and its compounds the form in *erunt* was preferred to that in *ere*.¹ It may be noted that the great majority, 89.7% of the verbs of the 4th conj. in *erunt* in the 3rd decade and in 41-5 are of *venio*, and 76.2% in the 3rd dec. in *ere* are of the same verb.

Livy's detailed usage of the various perfect endings in the different conjugations is as follows:

A. AVERUNT, ARUNT, AVERE.²

The relative frequency of each of these forms in the different decades is shown in the following table:

¹ To Neue-Wagener III³, p. 193, we add the following occurrences of *ere*: *venere* 3, 38, 1; 4, 9, 12; 5, 19, 5; 10, 7; 38, 1; 21, 20, 7; 25, 18, 6; 26, 39, 19; 27, 20, 3; 37, 13; 35, 13, 6; *advenere* 8, 38, 2; 25, 36, 8; 37, 38, 6; 38, 6, 2; *convenere* 1, 9, 7; 47, 9; 6, 28, 4; 21, 21, 8; 24, 18, 10; 12; 25, 10, 7; 33, 16, 3; 38, 41, 6; *evenere* 28, 42, 5; *invenere* 6, 9, 7; 9, 2, 9; 25, 39, 8; 42, 28, 12; *pervenere* 8, 13, 4; 21, 35, 5; 47, 3; 22, 54, 1; 29, 2, 2; 31, 2, 10; 45, 11.

² *Sterno* and its compounds is excluded from the table; *straverunt* 10, 23, 12; 21, 28, 7; 41, 27, 8; 9; *prostraverunt* 9, 6, 4; 45, 20, 9; *arunt* and *avere* were not used.

Decade.	averunt.	arunt.	avere.
1st	39	37	56
3rd.....	45	23	16
4th.....	43	56	11
41-5	7	34	5
Total	134	150	88

Notes.—(1) Livy to the end of the 3rd decade prefers the form *averunt* to *arunt*, but in the 4th decade he prefers the *arunt* forms = 56.6% and in 41-5, 82.9%.

(2) There are in all 11 verbs which have all the three forms, *abdico, creo, comparo, conclamo, impetro, iuvo, loco, mulo, nuntio, pugno* and *turbo*. It may be noted that in the verbs having three forms *averunt* was preferred (48 times) to *avere* (27 times) and *arunt* (25 times); but after the first decade the ending *runt* rises to 80%, *re* falling to 20%. *Creavere* and *locavere* occur only in the 1st decade, while later *locaverunt* is found 12 times and *locarunt* twice.

c). With the following 16 verbs Livy uses only the ending *runt*: *adfirmo, armo, coniuro, curo, damno, dimico, immolo, nego, pronuntio, postulo, renuntio* (contr. 6, unc. = 1), *recito, regno, rogo, tolero, and triumpho*.¹

d). It is worthy of note that with *nuntio* the ending *ere* was used but twice (4, 46, 9; 40, 19, 2), and the compounds have only the form in *runt*.

e). The verbs in *-lo* and in *-ro* prefer the ending *runt*: in *lo* { *runt* = 20; *re* = 2; in *ro* { *runt* = 42; *re* = 19. They also prefer the contracted form: *-lo* { contr. = 18; unc. = 2; and in *-ro* { cont. = 22; unc. = 20.

f). The ending *arunt* is not near so common as *erunt*: in 1st dec. { *arunt* = 37; i. e., *arunt* = 9%; *erunt* = 374; in 3rd dec. { *arunt* = 23; *erunt* = 665, i. e., *arunt* = 3.3%; in 4th dec. { *arunt* = 56; *erunt* = 990; i. e., *arunt* = 5.4%; and in 41-5 { *arunt* = 34; *erunt* = 300; i. e., *arunt* = 10.2%. In all, *arunt* = 150 to *erunt* 2329.

¹Neue-Wagener III³, p. 480, cite Drakenb. to Livy 21, 44, 7, and make a statement regarding the reading of the latest editions, which is true of but 2 out of the ten passages cited.

B. EVERUNT, ERUNT, EVERE.

In Livy *everunt* { II conj. = 8; III " = 45; *erunt* { II conj. = 1; III " = 0; *evere* { II conj. = 6; III " = 13; that is *-runt* = 54, *re* = 19.

The following forms are used: *compleverunt*, 3 times; *expleverunt*, 3 times; *impleverunt*, twice; in *ere*: *complevere*, twice; *delevere* and *explevere*, once each; *implevere*, twice; the form *erunt*, only once, *delerunt* 24, 42, 11. Several of these are omitted by Neue-Wagener, III³, pp. 192 and 496.¹

In the 3rd. conj. *decreverunt* occurs 36 times,² and *decrevere* 6 times,³ the contrast being a striking one. So *quieverunt* was used 9 times to *quievere* 7 times.⁴ These two verbs illustrate the fluctuating style of the 1st decade as compared with the more settled style later on: in the 1st decade he uses *decreverunt* 3 times, *decrevere* twice, but later he decides for the form in *erunt*, using it 33 times to *ere* only 4 times; and while *quieverunt* was used twice to *quievere* 5 times in the first dec., later he uses the form in *erunt* 7 times to the form in *ere* but twice.

C. *Viderunt* was preferred to *videre*, probably on account of the possibility of confusion in the use of the latter with the infin. form. While *ere* is the predominant form in the first dec., *viderunt* was used 10 times to *videre* 3 (3, 62, 6; 6, 8, 1; 37, 12). After the 1st dec. *viderunt* was used 26 times to *videre* but 10 times.⁵

D. OVERUNT, ORUNT, OVERE.

Moverunt was used 18 times, *movere* only 3 (2, 58, 3; 25, 23; 31, 38, 5). This use of *movere* is to be compared with *videre*.

¹ The following are to be added: *compleverunt* 42, 61, 6; *impleverunt* 34, 12, 8; *complevere* 22, 16, 1, not 32, 16, 1, as given; 29, 3, 8; *implevere* 45, 31, 6.

² Neue-W. III³, p. 494, cite only 4; add: 4, 58, 7; 6, 21, 3; 7, 3, 2; 23, 34, 13; 26, 14, 2; 32, 5; 28, 21, 5; 29, 19, 5; 30, 2, 4; 31, 4, 1; 8, 3; 9, 8; 13, 6; 49, 1; 32, 8, 1; 28, 8; 32, 21, 9; 34, 21, 8; 35, 41, 7; 37, 1, 10; 55, 7; 38, 31, 5; 42, 5; 50, 3; 52, 8; 39, 33, 3; 40, 19, 4; 52, 2; 43, 4, 11; 45, 12, 10; 17, 1; 25, 7.

³ Id. p. 495 for *decrevere* add: 26, 28, 3; 27, 37, 7; 35, 41, 2; 43, 15, 4.

⁴ Id. p. 496 omit: *quieverunt* 32, 13, 15, and cite 24, 19, 13 for 24, 19, 5, and omit for *quievere* 8, 7, 20; 13, 8; and 40, 3, 7.

⁵ No examples of *videre* are cited by Neue-Wagener; cf. 22, 1, 2; 23, 29, 14; 25, 26, 13; 26, 39, 18; 28, 15, 10; 30, 18, 13; 35, 36, 3; 37, 27, 5; 30, 7; and 40, 40, 9.

Summoverunt is found in 25, 3, 16, *summove* in 4, 17, 11; and *amove* occurs in 5, 32, 7.

Livy does not use *noverunt*, but *norunt* in 26, 22, 14 and *novere* in 3, 67, 5. *Cognoverunt* was used twice and *cognovere* 3 times. *Agnovere* was also used 3 times,¹ all being in 1st decade.

E. UERUNT = 297, UERE = 196.

These endings may be classified according to conjugations, as follows:

Conj.	uerunt.	uere.	
1st	3	1	and
2nd	110	69	<i>fuert</i> = 74
3rd	106	31	<i>fuere</i> = 93.
4th	4	2	

It may be noted that, while in the regular conj. *-uerunt* is found from 2 to about 4 times as often as *-uere*, *fuere*, on the other hand, outnumbers *fuert*. It is also interesting to note that *fuere* occurs relatively more frequently than the other *ere* forms: in the 1st decade *fuere* runs 16.2% higher than the general average of the *ere* forms; strange to say, in striking contrast to the general tendency of the *ere* forms to decrease by half, *fuere* rises to 42.7% higher than the general average in the 3rd, and then drops in the fourth to 24.9% higher and in 41-5 to 26.2% higher.²

In regard to the different conjugations the following peculiarities may be noted: Livy prefers *censuerunt* (31) to *censuere* (4), in the fourth dec., using only the fuller form; *pono* uses only the form in *erunt*, and its compounds prefer this form (7) to *ere* but twice (24, 36, 4 *exposuere*; 5, 5, 5 *opposuere*). Livy's fondness for compound forms in general is illustrated by the fact that he uses *rapio* but once, *rapuere* 2, 34, 10, the compounds, however, 11 times { *runt* = 7. Cf. also *curro*, p. 420, *duco*, p. 418, and *eo*, p. 419.
re = 4

¹ Id. III³, p. 497, omit: *cognoverunt* 37, 23, 5; *cognovere* 24, 30, 14; 27, 32, 3; 34, 20, 6; *agnovere* 5, 36, 7; 7, 39, 13; 40, 1; and *novere* 3, 67, 5.

² Id. p. 193 cite only 3 passages for *fuere*, but there are in all 93! (21, 19, 11 is cited for 21, 5, 11). Cf. also footnote, p. 409.

It is noteworthy, too, that both with *volo* and with its compounds Livy uses only the fuller form: with *volo* 7 times, with *nolo* twice, and with *malo* 6 times.¹

F. SERUNT (-SS, X) = 396, SERE (SS, X) = 155.

It is interesting to note that the S form of the perfect, in all probability the older form, showed a strong preference for the archaic form, *ere*, in the first decade, *serunt* occurring only 35 times to *sere* 86 times, that is, *sere* = 71.1%. Later, however, these forms are made to conform to the general law: in the 3rd dec. *serunt* = 114, *sere* = 39, that is *sere* drops to 25%, in the 4th, *serunt* = 184, *sere* = 26, *sere* dropping to about $\frac{1}{4}$, 12.4%, and in the bks 41-5, it again drops to about $\frac{1}{4}$, 5.9%, *serunt* occurring 63 times to *sere* only 4. After the 1st dec. $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{serunt} = 361 \\ \text{sere} = 69 \end{array} \right.$; i. e. *sere* = 16%.

The following peculiarities are worthy of note. Livy prefers *iusserunt* (28) to *iussere* (2), both in 1st dec. (2, 32, 2; 6, 26, 3); So *manserunt* (13) to *mansere* (2; 1, 35, 9; 21, 58, 11); *iubeo* and *manseo* thus show a decided preference for the fuller form. The compounds of *cedo* also prefer the fuller form, 45 to 32. After the 1st decade Livy uses only the form *dixerunt*, so also with *duxerunt*. The compounds of *duco* prefer *xerunt* (27) to *xere* (2). While the simple verb occurred 7 times, the compounds were used 29 times. Livy also preferred *miserunt* (62) to *misere* (7, of these 5 in the 1st dec.); and after the 1st dec. the compounds have *erunt* 16 times to the form in *ere* only 5 times. The compounds of *scribo* have only the form in *erunt*.

The 4th conj. has but one verb in this category, *senserunt* = 12 to *sensere* 9, and after the 1st decade the form *runt* = 9, *re* only 5.

G. IVERUNT (19), IERUNT (11), IVERE (20) and IERE (4).

There is a striking contrast between the verbs of the 3rd conj. and those of the 4th. While in the 3rd, *iverunt* = 10 to *ierunt* 1, in the 4th, *iverunt* = 9 and *ierunt* one more. So in the 3rd, *ivere* = 8, to *iere* = 0; in the 4th, *ivere* = 11 to *iere* = 4. There are

¹ To Id. III³ p. 492 we add the following: *iuverunt* 33, 20, 12; *adiuverunt* 29, 1, 19; 32, 21, 16; 34, 5, 10; and *adiuvere* 3, 62, 7; 5, 34, 8; 7, 22, 9; 44, 10, 11. Here again the simple verb does not occur as often as the compound, cf. p. 417.

all together 19 verbs with these endings in the 3rd conj.¹ against 34 in the 4th. *Petierunt* was used 27 times to *petiere* 17 times,² and after the 1st decade the *erunt* forms (24) were used 4 times as often as the *ere* forms (6).

It is interesting to note that the 4th conj. is richest in these forms, being the only one equipped with four, and that in Livy there is but one verb, *audio*, that enjoys this distinction. *Nequeo* is not quite so well off, having three, but the rest have only two. The 1st conj., however, although it can not show any more than three forms, can boast of 11 verbs (cf. p. 415). *Audiverunt* occurs 4 times, *-ierunt* 7 times, *-ivere* 5 times, and *-iere* twice.³ After the 1st decade *runt* = 8 to *re* = 4. *Nequiverunt* occurs once, 33, 18, 7;⁴ *nequivere* 4, 51, 3, and *nequiere* 29, 34, 12.

H. EO AND ITS COMPOUNDS.

Here the syncopated form is the only one Livy uses. It occurs as follows:

Decade.	ierunt.	iere.	*iere.
1st	16	21	56.8
3rd.....	21	8	27.6
4th.....	29	10	25.6
41-5	19	2	9.5
Total	85	41	32.5

¹ Id. III³ p. 453 omit: *asciverunt* 30, 45, 7; *consciverunt* 39, 17, 5; 45, 10, 14; 24, 6; *desciverunt* 26, 31, 3; 38, 28, 7; *laccissierunt* 28, 12, 1; *-iere* 10, 27, 6 (not 1, 27, 6).

² Id. only 6 are cited for *petierunt* and 6 for *petiere*. Add the following to *petierunt* 7, 26, 9; 8, 1, 8; 10, 16, 3; 23, 35, 3; 25, 5, 3; 26, 31, 3; 30, 25, 3; 43, 5; 32, 17, 3; 23, 13; 33, 6, 8; 15, 12; 27, 5; 34, 43, 2; 35, 24, 4; 36, 20, 5; 43, 8; 37, 57, 9; 38, 36, 5; 39, 37, 21; 40, 25, 4; 35, 4; 40, 13; 47, 4; 42, 38, 8; 43, 2 Neue-W. cite 10, 6, 3 for 16, 3 and 26, 31, 11 for 31, 3 (26 omitted). To *petiere*: 1, 37, 6; 3, 1, 8; 4, 2; 4, 6, 10; 9, 4; 46, 6; 58, 2; 5, 38, 10; 8, 2, 9; 9, 13, 4; 10, 37, 4; 21, 56, 4; 22, 7, 2; 31, 41, 7; 42, 62, 10; 45, 1, 5; 4, 6 (17 omitted). There is also omitted: *repetivere* 31, 21, 5; *triverunt* 23, 34, 17; *trivere* 37, 27, 8; and *obtrivere* 28, 33, 6.

³ Id. III³ p. 450 f. omit: *audiverunt* 28, 8, 5; 30, 19, 12; 38, 12, 5 (34, 11, 3 is cited instead of 34, 11, 5, but here Weissb.-Müll. read *audierunt*; and 9, 25, 5 also has *audierint*); *audierunt* 9, 7, 6; 34, 11, 5; 41, 19, 8; 42, 44, 5 (27, 8, 5 is given for 28, 8, 5); *audivere* 2, 38, 4; *audiere* 4, 1, 4; 25, 38, 23 (5, 39, 1 = ?).

⁴ Id. omit this example; also *acciverunt* 35, 34, 7; *exciverunt* 27, 50, 9; *excivere* 1, 28, 3; *muniverunt* 24, 44, 6; *communiverunt* 28, 16, 7.

The table shows that this verb does not follow the general tendency (cf. p. 409). While in the simple verb the *runt* forms (11) and the *re* forms almost balance, in the compounds the *runt* form (75) is greatly preferred to the *re* form (29); in fact those compounded with *ad*, *inter*, *trans*, and *prae* employ only the ending in *runt*. Of the other compounds, *abierunt* = 32, *abiere* = 15; *inierunt* = 17, *iniere* = 3; *perierunt* and *periere*, each = 5; *redierunt* = 32, *rediere* = 15; and *subierunt* and *subiere* occur each twice. **Ἀπαξ λεγόμενα* are: *coiere* 4, 7, 7; *praeierunt* 43, 13, 11; and *prodiere* 3, 36, 3.¹

I. CURRO AND ITS COMPOUNDS.

The simple verb does not occur in these forms, the compounds, however, were used 41 times, and, with the exception of 2, all have the fuller form. With the exception of 3, all have the non-reduplicated form. Livy's usage is as follows: *concurrerunt* is used once, 29, 18, 10, to *concurrerunt* 16 times; *decucurrerunt* once, 22, 4, 6, to *decurrerunt* twice, 26, 51, 4; 38, 8, 3, and *decurrere* once, 24, 36, 4; *incurrerunt* twice, to *incurrere* once. The other reduplicated form is *excucurrerunt*, 1, 15, 1.²

J. The irregular verb *coepi* on the whole used the form in *erunt* about as often as the form in *ere*. In the 1st decade, however, he uses only the form in *ere*, which does not appear again until 27, 12, 14. In all, the form in *erunt* = 10, in *ere* = 11.³

¹ Neue-Wagener's lists, pp. 193 and 453, are not complete here also; add: *iere* 22, 10, 8 (in 37, 31, 7 it is bracketed); *iniere* 2, 30, 11; *periere* 1, 37, 2; 10, 33, 6; 25, 38, 21; 31, 37, 8; 12; *rediere* 8, 23, 10; 26, 5; 22, 59, 18; 24, 16, 15; 27, 26, 6; 29, 35, 1; 30, 25, 4; 31, 37, 8; 12; 34, 46, 7; 35, 38, 12; 38, 3, 6; 39, 24, 5; 42, 60, 2; *subiere* 8, 10, 3.

On p. 193 *iere* is cited for 3, 36, 6 instead of 3, 66, 6; *abiere* 2, 7, 2 for 2, 7, 3; *iniere* 5, 22, 3 for 5, 22, 5; *proiere* for *periere* in 1, 37, 2; and *transiere* for *fuere* in 4, 22, 1. In all, 22 are omitted, and 5 incorrect citations are given.

² Id. III³, p. 358, cite only 8 passages for *occurrerunt*, and omit 8, as follows: 2, 6, 9; 28, 15, 3; 29, 9, 5; 32, 24, 2; 38, 2, 12; 3, 5; 40, 6, 6; 46, 10 (22, 20, 11 is cited for 22, 20, 10 and 23, 47, 7 for 23, 44, 7; in 28, 15, 3 Weissb.-Müller read *concurrerunt*). Two verbs are omitted entirely, *discurrerunt* 25, 25, 9; 34, 37, 1; and *occurrerunt* 2, 19, 13; 10, 12, 4; 43, 9; 27, 30, 1; 31, 18, 9; 29, 2; 35, 46, 3; 38, 14, 4; 33, 6; 40, 57, 3; 42, 22, 3; 43, 6; 45, 12, 3 (13). *Incurrerunt* also occurs in 42, 59, 3. In all 24 forms are omitted.

³ Neue-Wagener omit this verb. *Coepere* occurs in 4, 6, 10; 12, 7; 5, 17, 1; 10; 22, 3; 30, 4; 7, 2, 5; 27, 12, 14; 28, 26, 11; 31, 42, 6; 35, 35, 10.

SUMMARY.

A. General Observations.

1) The form *ere* is most common in the 1st decade, and decreases by about one-half in the later decades (cf. p. 409).

2) Livy's first decade has been appropriately called a prose poem, and is especially characterized by a more liberal use of archaic and poetical forms and phrases. His extensive use of the form *ere* in this decade is, therefore, partly due to archaic, partly due to poetic influences. Here, while being influenced by the archaic sources he used, he was also influenced by the norm established by Sallust. In the later decades he turns to the norm of Caesar and Cicero (cf. p. 412).

3) In the later decades Livy did not use the form in *ere* to give an archaic or poetical coloring to the passage. Its use here is to be accounted for chiefly from his fondness for variety in expression, often to avoid a rhyme between the two clauses. When the two forms were used in the same sentence, he, in general, preferred the fuller form at the close (cf. p. 413).

4) The break in the use of *ere* occurs with book VII. Before this *ere* is used more often, after less often.

5) The form *ere* is most common in III, 77.2%, and most rare in XLI, 3.3%.

6) There is a striking difference between Livy's use of the form *ere* and that of the author of the *Periochae* (cf. p. 410).

B. Detailed Usage.

1) There are 11 verbs in the 1st conj. which have the three forms, so also *nequeo*, while *audio* has four (pp. 415; 419).

2) Verbs in *lo* and *ro* prefer *runt* (p. 415).

3) After the 1st decade the form *arunt* is preferred to *averunt* (p. 415).

4) It is interesting to note that, while Livy in the first conj. avoided entirely perf. forms which are identical with the infin., probably on account of the confusion that might thus arise, he felt no hesitancy about such ambiguous forms in the 2nd and 3rd conj.: *videre* occurs 10 times, *movere* and its compounds 5 times (cf. p. 416 f.); so also *invidere* 30, 30, 30; *incidere* 3, 5, 10; *vertere* 33, 9, 7 and *avertere* 3, 7, 2; *portendere* 31, 7, 15.

5) Several verbs appear only in compounds, as *pleo* (p. 416) and *curro* (p. 420).

6) *Volo* and its compounds have only the form in *runt* (p. 418).

7) Compound verbs in general prefer the fuller form, as *nuntio* (p. 415), *cedo*, *duco* and *scribo* (p. 418), *eo* (p. 420) and *venio* (p. 414).

8) The ending *uerunt* is preferred to *uere*, except in *fuere* (cf. p. 417).

9) The *s* perfects (*s*, *ss*, and *x*) prefer the ending *erunt* to *ere* (cf. p. 418 f.).

10) *Fuere* was used more often than any other form in *ere*. Neither this verb nor *video* and *venio* and its compounds follow the general tendency for the use of this form (cf. p. 414 f.).

[In summarizing the results of this investigation regarding Livy's use of these two forms, another kind of summary is suggested. In the course of this article many errors, both of omission and of commission, have been incidentally pointed out in Wagener's revision of Neue's Formenlehre. Besides those above mentioned others occur,¹ as, e. g. in Vol. III, p. 468 f. only 6 passages are cited for *audisset* instead of 21, only 3 for *petisset* instead of 6, and only 4 for *audissent* instead of 16; and on p. 473, only 5 for *audisse* instead of 13, and neither the verb *petisse* nor its 15 occurrences are cited. Besides this 125 forms of *eo* and its compounds are omitted; on p. 192 f., 228 passages are not given. It is with a feeling of disappointment that we record the fact that a book of such high standing as Neue's Formenlehre should contain so many errors. But the fact remains that as far as completeness or accuracy in regard to Livy's usage is concerned, it has been weighed in the balances and found wanting. Although the 3rd edition is a decided improvement over the 2nd, and has been enlarged to quite formidable dimensions, still for an exact account of Livy's usage the book is untrustworthy and unreliable, and needs a thorough revision. Let us hope that his treatment of this small chapter in Livy's usage is not typical of the whole book.]

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¹ Cf. Class. Rev. 1898, p. 30; 1899, p. 130 and p. 251; 1904, p. 27 f., where the author has pointed out omissions for Martial's use of *licebit*, Quintilian's use of *igitur*, *itaque*, and contracted forms of the perfect found in that author and in Livy. Cf. also Archiv XI, p. 10, for omissions of *licitum est*, etc.

IV.—STUDIES IN SUPERSTITION.¹

PINDAR AND BACCHYLIDES.

Not that there is so little of superstition in Pindar's work should surprise us, but that there is so much. Truly, Pindar's bent of mind was not that of the lowly and the humble; the pride which caused him to link his name with that of Hiero as of equal worth did not incline him to seek the farmer's cottage and there, another Grimm, to listen to goblin-tales. The pessimistic bias of his thoughts, to which the words *σκιᾶς ὄναρ ἀνθρώπου* give such a gloomy expression, might lead him into the Pythagorean conventicles, but could not make him seek help and protection from the evils of this life, at the feet of some shadowy figure of divine origin. The few nuggets, therefore, which can be found in the remnants of his poems are all the more valuable, because they allow us to infer that the beliefs mentioned by Pindar, must have exercised great power over the Greek mind.

I have no such estimate to offer of Bacchylides. The few passages, which I have been able to cull, are highly interesting indeed. But even the new finds leave his genius too indistinct to allow of giving their proper place to his religious views.

The following notes on Pindar will simply justify the insertion, into the "Catalogue", of the passage dealt with. As for the remainder, the Index must be taken for what it is meant to be, viz. building-material for the coming historian of Greek religion.

PINDAR, FGM. 107 CHR(IST): THE ECLIPSE.

This noble passage has been frequently quoted without receiving its proper place. Yet, I think that it is of some value for Greek superstition. I shall not speak here of the threatening significance which the poet ascribes to the obscuring of the sun²

¹ A. J. P. XVIII, 189.

² ἔλαυνεις τί νεώτερον ἢ πάρος, . . . πολέμον δ' εἰ σᾶμα φέρεις τινός, ἢ καρποῦ φθίσιν, ἢ νιφετοῦ σθένος ὑπέρφατον, ἢ στάσιν οὐλομένην, ἢ πόντον κενέωσιν, ἢ παγετὸν χθονός, ἢ νότιον θέρος, ἢ γαῖαν κατακλύσαισα θήσεις ἀνδρῶν νέον ἐξ ἀρχᾶς γένος . . .

nor will I press the meaning of the word κλεπτόμενον.¹ The fact that this poem preserves for us the only trace of a very old ritual is of much greater importance.

Written on the occasion of a solar eclipse, it is classed among the 'ὑπορχήματα'.² These were choral songs, sacred to Apollo, accompanied by pantomimic gestures. In other words, they were hymns to the 'Averter' of evil,³ accompanied by a δράσις or representation of some adventure. To talk plain, ethnological English, they were "medicine-dances."

Going further, we may, conjecturally at least, retrace the contents of this special dance. When light is born, it is greeted by a dance of armed πυρριχισταί, the Curetes.⁴ During their dance these spirits beat on their shields, in order to make as great a noise as possible. This is done in imitation of earthly rites; for just so the evil spirits threatening the new babe are driven away by the noise of metal instruments.⁵

Now the eclipse of the sun is due to evil spirits which must be driven away by the noise of bronze instruments.⁶ This notice of Pliny's evidently must be brought to bear upon our passage, and we are thus enabled to state that during solar eclipses superstitious people tried to help the endangered god by a dance in which the fight with the evil spirit and its defeat was symbolically represented.

But was this done by the superstitious only? For whom did Pindar write his ὑπόρχημα? Did he put his proud pen at the disposal of some conventicle?

One, at least, of his 'ὑπορχήματα was of a higher character, as it was, if not written for Hiero, certainly addressed to him. Neither are indications wanting to show that our ὑπόρχημα, too, had an official character. The dancers, whoever they are, pray, not for their own salvation but for that of Thebes, their native city.⁷ Nor is it imaginable that the exalted sentiment touching the feared disasters would have been acceptable to the adherents of those superstitious θίασοι which we know existed in Pindar's age. With

¹ ἄστρον ὑπέρτατον ἐν ἡμέρᾳ κλεπτόμενον.

² Cp. Boeckh. de metris Pind. p. 270. Athen. 630 d.

³ H. Usener, Götternamen, 302-312.

⁴ Idem, Pasparios, Rhein. Mus. XLIX, 464.

⁵ E. Rohde, Psyche¹ 248, 2.

⁶ Pliny, N. H. II, 54; Pauly-Wissowa I, 41, 13.

⁷ ἀπὸ ἡμῶν ἐς οὐμὸν τινα τράποιο θήβαις.

good reason, it seems to me, may we assume that this poem was composed as an official song to accompany the expiatory rites by which the city of Thebes tried to avert the portent.

We are vouchsafed but seldom an insight into the position which a great thinker took towards the feelings that pervaded the souls of his contemporaries. Such an opportunity, however, seems to be offered here. "Whether," Pindar says, "whether thou portendest war, or ruin of the crops, or overwhelming snow, or destructive revolution, or the flooding of the plains by the sea, or a freeze, or heat from the South; or whether thou art going, by a deluge, to renew from the beginning the race of men: I do not wail, for I shall but suffer in company with all." And again, if fgm. 142 Chr. has been correctly assigned to the same poem as 107: "God has the power to raise unblemished light from black night, and again to wrap in black-clouded darkness the pure sheen of day."

If the first words betray an almost stoical resignation to the common fate, the latter breathe an almost Christian confidence in God's omnipotence. Views which are not altogether incompatible. But even if they were, their apparent contradictoriness would not be surprising in a poet who proclaimed two mutually exclusive views of the life after death.¹ Yet we must try to find the relation of the poet's belief to that of his compatriots. Was Pindar simply an unbeliever who adapted his thoughts to the demands of the hour? Did he simply yield to the orders of his employers when he wrote this *ὑπόρχημα*? And what was his attitude toward the faithful and their apotropaic rites? He himself has given the answer to these questions. Just as he has treated the Pelops-legend, not rejecting any feature of the popular myth, but purifying and ennobling it, so he has done here: under the touch of his genius the plain medicine-dance has acquired a nobility of sentiment in which the common herd had no share, but which may have contributed, on its part, to give new ideas to these simple folks, however unconsciously imbibed.

PINDAR, OL. I, 73-76; VI, 57 FF.: THE CONJURING OF SPIRITS.

"Popular beliefs", says E. Rohde,² "twine themselves round almost the whole theology of Pindar's. A true poet; as a faithful

¹ E. Rohde, *Psyche* 1 496-514.

² *Psyche* 1 508.

steward of the popular myth, he does not reject it, but purifies and ennobles it."

The two passages to be considered likewise have been built upon a foundation of popular belief. Both describe the invocation of a god whose help is to be asked for, and both employ all the salient features of a *κατάδεσμος*. How lasting these features were, how deep-rooted in the beliefs of the Greeks, is proved by the fact that every one of them is found again in the Magical Papyri, over six centuries after Pindar. I shall let the parallel speak for itself:

Pelops goes *οἶος ἐν ὁρῶντι* (Iamos goes *νυκτὸς ὑπαιθριος*) ἐγγὺς ἀλὸς πολιάς ('*Ἀλφεῶ μέσσω καταβάς*: Iamos).¹ Both call here upon Poseidon, who *παρ' ποδὶ σκεδὸν φάνη*.

The magician goes *πρὶν ὃ ἥλιος ἀναβαίνει πρὸς τὸν Νεῖλον* (the river takes, for the Egyptians, the place of the sea) *μηδενὸς ἄλλου κατιδόντος* (Pap. Paris, 26-40); he invokes the god and immediately *φανήσεται, ὃν φωνεῖς*, Pap. Par. 249 (Wessely, Denkschr. Wien. Ak. XXXVI.

The comparison ought to be convincing. Pindar has evidently made use of material available in the superstitious rites of his age. But he has molded this material so skillfully, and has harmonized it with its surroundings so artistically that nobody would suspect the humble birth of his verses, were it not for the irrefutable testimony of the papyri.

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IV.

THEOCRITUS.

To the folk-lorist the study of Theocritus is a disappointment. The master and, practically, the *εὐρετής*, of bucolic poetry should, we expect, abound in those rare traits of popular belief which certainly filled the souls of those very herdsmen and vintners whose life and love he was singing. Yet, a glance at the Index will show that the yield is very meagre. Not, indeed, in quantity; for the number of items is considerable. But they are of minor importance. This will appear paradoxical to the reader who is accustomed to hear the praises of Theocritus sung. Let us, then, seek the reasons for this phenomenon.

What was the point of view from which Theocritus approached his subject? Living for some time in Cos, the pupil and friend

of poets who are nothing, if not artificial, a guest at the court of the Ptolemies with its hyper-refinement, he felt with the instinct of the *littérateur* the attractive novelty of those rural scenes, in the midst of which he probably passed his boyhood. His are not idyls in the modern sense, sprung from a feeling of satiety, of loathing caused by the vices and exactions of an artificial society, but genre-paintings for the connoisseur of art. When his poems first appeared they must have exercised a charm upon his reading public, similar to that which Kipling's tales exercise over our minds. But we must find in his work the same faults as in those of Kipling: we see everywhere the poet behind his creation, and not for one moment do we lose the feeling that the author himself, the masterly painter of scenes from low life, moves, and delights to move, in circles far above those to which he introduces us. It was the aim of Theocritus, as it is that of Kipling, to blaze out a trail hitherto untrodden, to present to his readers a novel life, the life of those whom his friends ordinarily contemplated with a mingled feeling of repulsion and curiosity. Naturally, the religious thoughts of his heroes and heroines had to be left in the dim background. It is significant that we know of no work of his contemporaries treating of folk-lore, however eagerly they sought for that which Panofka has aptly termed "*Verlorene Mythen*". The reason for this is manifest. This was not novel, it was a sphere of belief in which probably a great many even of the educated shared, and which, therefore, seemed not to be especially noteworthy. This statement seems to be contradicted by the Second Idyl. But it will be remembered that the magical detail therein was borrowed from Sophron's *Mimus*. The other items of superstition, catalogued by me, can hardly be said to present any new aspect, and they cannot have been new to the Coan or Alexandrian reader who was familiar with the material which Theophrastus used for his *Δαισδαίμων*.

Secondly, not only from the standpoint of the *littérateur*, but also from that of the artist, Theocritus could feel no call for filling his poems with allusions to popular beliefs. His seems not to have been the modern method of collecting characteristic data, and then working them into a carefully planned 'realistic' picture. He can certainly not be charged with the excess of erudition which mars the painful work of some of his contemporaries. While this contributes to the charm of his poetry, and

lends it the character of simplicity, yet it detracts from his archaeological value.

Nor, thirdly, does it seem to have been in the character of the *man*, to devote himself to a careful observation of detail. Quite contrary to our expectation, he can, by no means, be called one of the "Kleinmeister", or, as he would have said himself, perhaps, a *ῥυπαρογράφος*. He cannot be said to have gone into tedious detail in any one of his poems. It is interesting, in this connection, to compare his Adoniazusae, for example, with the poems of Herondas, especially in regard to the language in which the mistresses address their slaves.¹

In closing this introduction, I wish to say expressly, that I am far from censuring Theocritus for his failure to impart antiquarian information. For the loss of the student certainly has been the gain of the lover of art.

1. The Goddess 'Ανάγκη? (XVI, 82-85).

Our passage is mentioned neither in Roscher's Lexicon nor in Wissowa's Encyclopaedia. Nor does Dieterich, who speaks of the "demon 'Ανάγκη",² refer to it. 'A. was certainly worshipped in Corinth,³ a city maintaining relations with Sicily. Now, Theocritus connects here Syracuse with Corinth (82-84). This seems to confirm an assumption of the worship of 'A. in Syracuse. Monumental proof, however, is lacking. I can find no mention of a goddess, 'A. in the Inscriptiones Graecae Italiae et Siciliae.

2. The Poem 'Αλκίς (Ps. Th. XXI).

I shall not enter upon the question of the time of this spurious poem. But the reader's attention deserves to be called to its strange conformity to the rules of Dream-interpretation as laid down by Artemidorus of Daldis. Thus, in lines 40-41, we hear that the dream just related must be true. "For I had not eaten much; as you remember, we dined early and sparingly". Compare with this, Art. I, 8: "in all dreams whose cause one cannot find, we must consider, whether the dreamer went to bed after a moderate meal or after an ample dinner. For with a burdened stomach one cannot expect to see a true vision". This was the generally accepted theory, as is borne out by Plutarch.⁴

¹ This has been done by Legrand, in his *Étude sur Théocrite*, p. 134, who has also discussed in detail his lack of erudition (p. 128), and his failure to observe accurately (p. 140).

² Abraxas 101 f.; Nekyia 124.

³ Pausanias II, 4, 6.

⁴ Plut. Quaest. Conv. VIII 3, 1 (734 F.).

But it is further to be noted that the dream itself—of the catch of a golden fish—and its interpretation follow the rules. After a prolonged struggle a golden fish has been brought up. According to Artemidorus¹ this falls under the heading of subjective dreams, which form the first of the five classes into which allegorical visions are divided, namely, dreams in which we see ourselves acting or suffering. Whatever these dreams mean, they refer to the dreamer alone. Just so the fisherman of our poem announces that the good luck to come will come to himself. Secondly, he does not doubt that he is destined to become rich, since the fish has been golden. Now, it is true that gold portends death to a sick man,² its color, temperature and weight being related to death, but it also signifies good luck.³ "Gold does not forebode on account of its material, as some say, but, on the contrary, it brings luck. It does this, however, only, if it neither surpasses the limits nor is unsuitable in form, as chains for a man, nor is beyond one's position, as crowns and plate for a pauper". And again:⁴ "To catch many, and large, fish is good and profitable for everyone, not of sedentary habits, (since fish are always moving), nor a sophist (i. e. a professional lecturer of the kind described by E. Rohde⁵; for to him, fish, as voiceless, would be unlucky".⁶ Lastly, as the *ἑσθλὸς ὀνειροκρίτης* cuts down the hopes of our dreamer,⁷ just so we read in Artemidorus,⁸ that every *θαῦμα* or impossibility causes deception and vain hopes.

In marked contrast with these instances of agreement, and yet bearing out the judgment of Artemidorus, are verses 32 and 33: οὗτος ἄριστος ὀνειροκρίτας, ὁ διδάσκαλός ἐστι παρ' ᾧ νοῦς.

3. The Grateful Bees (VII, 78–82).

While scholars have always recognized, that this narrative belongs to the scanty stock of Greek fairy-tales, yet it seems never to have been assigned to its proper type, that of the "Grateful Animal". A. Marx, indeed, to whom we owe the best investigation of the series, expressly denies the existence of such tales concerning bees,⁹ and seems to ascribe the relation between men and bees to the mantic character of the animals. Neither does Olck, in his article,¹⁰ refer to our passage, although he adverts to the connection of the bee with the Muses.

¹ Art. I 7.

² Art. I, 37.

³ II, 5.

⁴ II, 14.

⁵ Griech. Roman 288 ff.

⁶ Cp. with this Petronius, Cena Trimalch. 39.

⁷ XXI, 63 ff.

⁸ II, 44.

⁹ Märchen von dankbaren Tieren, p. 124³.

¹⁰ Wissowa's Encyclopaedia, sub Biene.

Now the tale, as told by Theocritus, runs as follows: a herder of goats was shut up by his master in a wooden box, having incurred his displeasure. Bees, however, came flying, and fed him on their honey, because the Muse had poured sweet nectar on his lips, i. e., because he was a poet. The tale was known in the fourth century B. C., as we learn from the scholia. These also add the happy solution, omitted by Theocritus, how, after two months, the master opens the box, only to find the man still living and his prison filled with honeycombs. The scholia also give a reason for the behavior of the bees, differing from that of Theocritus: *ἔθυν ἐπὶ συχνὰ ταῖς Μούσαις*. This statement contains the key of the situation. The bees are the incarnation of the Muses themselves, who show their gratitude for the herder's piety by coming to his aid at the critical moment. The identity of the bees and the Muses is clear from the many passages connecting them.¹ Even Marx, rationalist though he be, has conceded that the identity of animal and god is the underlying "mythical motif" of all the tales treating of the "grateful animal".² They all, as far as their mythical content can be understood, belong to the same type as the story of the rescue of Simonides by the Dioscuri, and, ultimately, fall under the "Contract" view of the relation between god and man, of which I have spoken elsewhere.³

4. The Lullaby (XXIV 7, 9).

It is interesting to observe how felicitous Theocritus has been in striking the popular note. The verses under consideration are from the cradle-song of a mother who rocks her babies, Hercules and Iphicles, to sleep. No one, I imagine, can read these lines without being reminded of modern lullabies. There is, however, an element of unconscious superstition, if I may say so, in the way in which a perfectly natural element is expressed. At all times, man has been afraid that Sleep, this miraculous, temporary suspension of the activities of life, may pass over into the everlasting suspension of Death. In praying for sleep, therefore, one must be very careful to express also the desire of waking again, else the sleep may be continued beyond awakening. To this superstitious fear, I am inclined to ascribe the peculiar expression⁴ *ἐγέρσιμος ὕπνος*. That this vague fear is

¹ Olck, l. c.

² L. c., p. 20.

³ Transact. Am. Philol. Assoc. XXVII, 15 ff.

⁴ Vs. 7.

really uppermost in the mother's mind is shown by the reiteration of the sentiment in verse 9: "Sleep safely, and safely see the dawn again!" It is this careful choice of well-omened words in prayer which characterizes ancient religion of the popular mind as against the prayer of a philosopher, like M. Aurelius, and, more still, as against the fervid effusion of the adherents of revealed religions.¹ Here, it seems to me, the boundary line between the prayer, welling up straight from the heart,—and such prayers assuredly the best among the ancients prayed no less than we—and the prayer of the *δαισιδαίμων*—and the majority of the ancient believers were *δαισιδαίμονες* in the literal sense of the word—is most sharply drawn.

5. The Demon: Old Age (XXIX, 26-27).

"We grow old more quickly than one can spit".

The idea is plain enough. But why should the action of spitting be especially expressive of speed? "Morbos despuimus," says Pliny,² and the use of this phrase has been well explained by Mr. Nicholson in his excellent pamphlet on "The Saliva Superstition."³ Spittle is prohibitive in its action, keeps away the evil spirits, and prevents their doing mischief. Such an evil spirit Old Age is also. There are still existing a number of Vase Paintings, on which Herakles defeats an old man, ugly of face, whom the artist has designated as *ῥῆρας*.⁴

But, according to Theocritus, old age is too quick for the remedy to take effect. Here, a similar belief about another 'demon' comes to our help. If you meet a wolf, don't let him see you first, or you will lose your power of speech.⁵ Evidently, the same idea prevailed about Old Age. Were it possible to see the enemy approach, we should be safe from his attack.

6. Threatening the God: Theocr. VII 106-114.

This is one more passage from our poet which finds its analogy in the Magical Papyri.⁶ Simichidas invokes Pan to

¹ Where, in revealed religion, prayer adopts formulas, such superstitious character may creep in. I remember a childish evening-prayer, in which the emphasis is laid upon the "straight limbs of the child", expressing the hope that he may rise the next morning, with "all his limbs still straight"!

² N. H. XXVIII, 35.

³ Harvard Studies in Class. Philol. VIII, 23 ff.

⁴ All conveniently collected in Furtwängler's *Bronzen von Olympia*, text to no. 699.

⁵ Wissowa, *Encyclop.* I 81, 50. Demons in animal shape: Bienkowski, Malocchio, in *Eranos Vindobonensis*.

⁶ Cp. Wessely, *Denkschr. Wien. Akad. Phil. Hist.* XXXVI, 27 f.

come to the aid of his unhappy friend Aratos. "If you do so", he says, "then the boys in Arcady shall not whip your sides with σκῆλαι because they have been short of meat.¹ But, if you help him not, may you be torn by their finger-nails, may you live in the regions of extreme northern cold in winter, and of extreme southern heat in summer!"² Just so there are in the Magical Papyri many instances of threats uttered against the god or demon, if he refuses to help the sorcerer.³ The underlying idea, in both cases, is of course the same. And a very strange one it is, that the power of the worshipper is greater than that of the god he worships, and that it is possible for him to make the god suffer. This idea, so repugnant to us, and, be it said, also to the more elevated minds among the ancients, can yet claim a very great antiquity. For, ultimately, it must go back to the idea of a covenant in which the two contracting parties are, at least, equal.

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¹ I cannot go here into a discussion of the original meaning of this peculiar treatment. It is possible that the interpretation of Theocritus is a late attempt to explain the survival of an obsolete "Fertility-Charms", about which Mannhardt's Wald- und Feldkulte ought to be consulted. Though the idea, as in Theocritus, is simple enough, and has survived in our own age. So Italians heap indignities upon the statue of their patron saint, if he refuses to grant their prayer.

² The confusion of ideas is interesting. The first threat can apply only to the statue of the god which is thought of as animated and inhabited by the god himself, while the second threat can apply only to the invisible, bodiless god who roams the fields at his sweet will. Such a confusion is decidedly popular ('volkstümlich') and another example of Theocritus's power of observation.

³ Cp. e.g. Papyrus Anastasy Brit. Mus. XLVI, l. 254 ff. (Wessely, l. c. p. 133).

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V.—THE NOMINATIVE OF THE PERFECT PARTICIPLE OF DEPONENT VERBS IN LIVY.

The nominative of the perfect participle of deponent verbs in Livy is followed by a dependent noun construction in about one-fourth of the instances. In addition to these, some transitive participles take an accusative conjointly with the finite verb, e. g. 2, 20, 3 Valerium . . . ex transverso quidam adortus transfigit. Of the fifty-nine occurrences of *adortus* twenty are like this, while in nine other passages there is a dependent infinitive, e. g. 44, 12, 8 eam quoque oppugnare adorti . . . irrita incepto Demetriadem petunt.

The participles which are used with a case other than the accusative are not put into the absolute construction. The genitive is used with *miseratus* 22, 55, 5; and 31, 30, 11; cf. 33, 48, 2 ita Africa Hannibal excessit . . . saepius patriae quam suum eventum miseratus. Twelve of the occurrences of *oblitus* are with the genitive, e. g. 32, 21, 11 o. societatis . . . reliquit. The accusative is used 22, 58, 8 veluti aliquid oblitus; and a dependent clause 36, 11, 2 o. quantas simul duas res suscepisset. Of the deponents regularly taking the ablative, *usus* occurs eleven times, e. g. 7, 28, 6 consules dictatoris exercitu . . . usi Soram . . . ceperunt; *functus* and compounds twelve, e. g. 4, 57, 12 quattuor creati sunt, omnes iam functi eo honore; 22, 47, 9 Romani defuncti nequiquam uno proelio . . . integram pugnam ineunt; 22, 51, 1 ut tanto perfunctus bello . . . quietem . . . sumeret. *Potitus* takes the ablative in eleven passages, as in 3, 8, 11 victor consul, ingenti praeda potitus . . . rediit; and once the genitive 34, 21, 5 huius potitus loci consul eos . . . liberos esse . . . iussit. The participles of *nitor* and its compounds are used somewhat freely: 2, 50, 9 nisi corporibus; 26, 9, 7 and 43, 2, 2 nixae genibus; 44, 36, 5 n. pilis. In 27, 34, 15 adnisi omnes cum C. Claudio M. Livium consulem fecerunt, *adnissus* is used without an immediately dependent noun as is *conissus* in most of the ten occurrences, though there is an accompanying ablative 3, 70, 5; 31, 21, 10; and 33, 19, 9 viribus conixus, as also with *enissus* 30, 24, 8 ingenti remigum labore e. Apollinis promunturium tenuit. The accusative is used 40, 4, 4 plures e. partus . . . decessit. *Innexus* is found 4, 19, 4 hasta

i.; 6, 1, 4 eodem i. . . stetit; 9, 16, 19 quo i. . . stare; 8, 8, 10 i. humeris; 8, 9, 14 genu i.; 28, 15, 5 scutis i.; and 3, 26, 9 fossam fodiens palae innixus. *Obnixus* was noticed 7, 33, 12; 8, 38, 11; and 34, 46, 10 nec dextris magis gladiisque gerebatur res, quam scutis corporibusque ipsis obnixa urgebant. *Subnixus* occurs 39, 53, 8 inflator redierat s. erga se iudiciis senatus. There is an example of *operatus* 10, 39, 2 hostes o. superstitionibus concilia secreta agunt. Both *confisus* and *diffisus* are used with dependent nouns: 28, 42, 12 c. Carthaginenses consensu Africae, fides sociorum regum, moenibus suis; 39, 51, 4 odium in se cernens, et fidei regum nihil sane confisus; *diffisus* 1, 2, 3 d. rebus; 21, 25, 3 d. moenibus; 40, 49, 3 d. praesidio; and with dependent statement 10, 33, 10 d. resisti posse; 21, 26, 6 d. arceri posse.

The larger part of the nominatives of the participles express motion, owing to the frequency with which *profectus*, *secutus* and the compounds of *gressus* are used in the descriptions of military movements. There is less demand for other participles, and the following divisions indicate in a general way the frequency of different forms of activity.

Delay and Motion.—Livy has *cunctatus* 4, 32, 10; 10, 19, 16; 26, 38, 7; 42, 53, 7; and *moratus* forty-six times. The latter is frequently limited by *dies*, or by a *dum*-clause, occasionally by both, as in 28, 34, 12, paucus moratus dies dum . . . pernumerarent. A *cum*-clause is used 42, 55, 5 m. dies cum audiret. *Tantum* occurs in connection with *moratus* 25, 18, 12; 29, 2, 9; 37, 12, 6; 40, 48, 5 t. m. ut . . . sineret. Similar to these is 23, 47, 1 id modo m. ut consulem percunctaretur. *Tantum* . . . *quantum* accompanies 29, 34, 9; and 33, 2, 7 t. Thebis m. q. Attali repens casus coegit. In one passage *moratus* is used transitively 24, 7, 5 m. turbam Dinomenes, tantum intervalli fecit, ut . . . confoderetur.

Profectus (314), and the compounds of *gressus* are the forms occurring most frequently. *Egressus* (57), usually taking the simple ablative, has the preposition *ex* 2, 48, 10; 5, 55, 2; 7, 31, 11; 45, 20, 7; and *ab* 24, 40, 11; 27, 17, 8 ab Tarracone e. . . pergit. The landing place is indicated by the accusative with *in*, e. g. 22, 45, 3 turbam cum vixdum in ripam egressi . . . fugassent. Notice, in an indirect statement, 2, 61, 4 modum dumtaxat in certamine egressum iratae obici plebi. The construction with *degressus* (12), and *digressus* (4) is the same, *a* occurring 23, 9, 3 digressi a colloquio; and *ex* 5, 52, 3 degressus ex arce; and 35,

38, 11 ita digressi ex colloquio legati ad suos, Thoas et Aetoli ... domum rediere. *Congressus* generally has *cum* with the ablative of the antagonist, as in 8, 36, 8 *cum* hoste c. . . . fugavit Samnites, but also has a conjoint accusative 8, 24, 9; 32, 21, 19 c. fudit fugavitque regem. *Praegressus* (15) takes an accusative 21, 35, 8 p. signa; 28, 1, 6 non solum nuntios sed etiam famam adventus sui p.; and 36, 31, 7 p. agmen. *Progressus* (49) is used with *iter* 33, 6, 2; 43, 21, 9; and 44, 2, 5; while *regressus* (25), usually followed by *ad* or *in*, has the terminal accusative 36, 6, 6 Chalcidem r.; 38, 2, 3 Gomphos regressus.

The transitive compounds occur as follows: *Adgressus* (24) takes a direct accusative nine times, as in 6, 8, 10 moenia undique a. oppidum cepit, and conjointly in ten passages, e. g. 6, 2, 14 non castra modo sed urbem etiam a. primo impetu cepit. *Ingressus* (53) has forty-four direct and two conjoint accusatives 36, 28, 3; and 39, 30, 5; and is followed by *in* 9, 7, 10; and 10, 10, 4 i. in urbem. *Praetergressus* (3) governs the accusative 35, 4, 4; and 45, 33, 8, as does *supergressus* 33, 7, 3 s. tumulos . . . posuerunt castra. *Transgressus* (56) takes the accusative in thirty-one passages, and of the remainder, nineteen have *in*.

Secutus (52) is one of the participles freely used,—thirty-six times with the accusative. It is especially noticeable with the accusative of another participle, as in 23, 1, 9 cedentes secutus cecidit. The compounds occur as follows: *Adsecutus* 4, 14, 6 haec eum vociferantem a. Ahala Servilius obtruncat; 9, 38, 3 redeuntes . . . a. agrestes exuerunt praeda; 25, 34, 10 a. pugnantes; 25, 35, 8. a. Numidae. *Consecutus* 31, 24, 15 vulneratos c.; 3, 23, 5 hos . . . se recipientes Romanus consul c. ad unum omnes cecidit. *Exsecutus* 27, 12, 6 imperata e. *Insecutus*, (14), has the accusative six times, e. g. 8, 8, 13, cum velut victos i. novam repente aciem . . . cernebant. *Persecutus* (17) takes a direct accusative excepting 29, 29, 1 paucos in ipso certamine, plerosque fugientes p. . . . occiderunt. *Prosecutus* is found 7, 33, 4 adhortationem p.; 5, 28, 4 legatos. . . p. Romam inde sospites restituit; and intransitively 44, 28, 5 ut in tutum p. redirent Tenedum. *Subsecutus* 8, 35, 2 inclinatam rem in preces s. orare dictatorem insistent. *Consectatus* has a conjoint accusative 38, 23, 5; and 40, 27, 12 fugientes . . . c. ceciderunt. *Inter emensus* occurs 26, 41, 16; and 35, 34, 9; Thraciam e. 38, 17, 16; and altitudinem permensus 25, 23, 12. *Aversatus* 8, 7, 14 filium a. contionem classico advocari iussit. Other verbs of motion are intransitive: *obversatus* 2, 36, 4;

23, 27, 1; and 33, 47, 10; *lapsus* and compounds (27); *palatus* (18) and *vagatus* (7), though the latter at times have adjectival force rather than participial.

Saying.—There is considerable variety in the verbs of saying used, though the occurrences of any one are not especially numerous. *Abominatus* 30, 25, 12; 40, 4, 8 a. mentionem. *Argumentatus* 33, 28, 8 multa . . . a. *Aspernatus* 1, 22, 7; 1, 23, 6; 29, 34, 5; 34, 40, 2 quem Quinctius a. excedere castris iussit; 42, 44, 1 societatem a. Romanis se adiungebant. *Causatus* 5, 15, 6; 36, 10, 12 hiemem instare apud suos c. . . moratus . . . recessit. *Comminati* 44, 9, 7. *Contionati* 4, 9, 7. *Criminatus* 3, 9, 2 patrum superbiam ad plebem c. . . invehebatur. *Detestatus* 40, 8, 11 d. exempla. *Execratus* 10, 28, 18 haec e.; 25, 14, 5 e. seque et cohortem; 39, 51, 12 e. in caput regnumque Prusiae. *Fassus* with compounds (13), usually *professus*, has the acc. 37, 55, 1 errorem f. *Fatus* (7) is also less frequently used than its compounds, *praefatus* (5), e. g. 33, 12, 3; and 34, 27, 6 pauca p., *effatus* (*pass.*) 10, 37, 15; *interfatus* 32, 34, 2; 36, 27, 3; and 36, 28, 4 prope dicentem interfatus Romanum . . . inquit. *Gratulatus* 21, 50, 8; 44, 13, 10. *Gravatus* 9, 3, 9. *Hortatus* and compounds (15) generally *adhortatus* or *cohortatus*, take the accusative in twelve passages. *Iocatus* 32, 34, 3. *Iuratus* 32, 22, 7. *Locutus* and compounds *ad-*, and *con-* (19) occur about the same number of times. Haec l. is found 1, 16, 8; 2, 37, 8; 10, 28, 14; pauca l. 23, 24, 3; and 27, 9, 10 locuti magis quam ausi tantum nefas; 26, 36, 9 multa c. *Adlocutus* has a personal object 25, 10, 8 Tarentinos; 27, 10, 6 eos; 35, 31, 3 Thessalos; and conjointly 22, 58, 2 cum socios a. dimisisset. *Mentitus* 24, 5, 12. *Miseratus* 31, 30, 11; and 33, 48, 2. *Orsus* (17) and *exorsus* (3) take the accusative 36, 6, 3 orationem exorsus, though *est* has perhaps fallen out; 2, 38, 2 or. exorsus; 7, 36, 9 orsus laudes. *Percunctatus* (10) has the acc. six times, as in 6, 34, 8 percontatus . . . avertentem causam doloris . . . elicit. *Pollicitus* is used transitively 5, 46, 8 operam pollicitus; and 41, 20, 9 templum . . . pollicitus . . . non perfecit. *Precatus* in twelve passages is found with the accusative, usually *haec* or *deos*, but the thing prayed for in 21, 50, 8 transitum; 39, 10, 5 pacem; and a double accusative 10, 24, 18 Fabius nihil aliud precatus populum Romanum . . . abiit. *Questus* (10) is used a little more freely than *conquestus* (8), the latter with the accusative 10, 23, 6 and 35, 12, 4 iniuriam; 25, 28, 6 inopiam; 29, 3, 1 clades; 39, 3, 2 id, though here *inde* is also read. *Recordatus* 25,

37, 8. *Sciscitatus* 7, 26, 2 s. voluntatem. *Testatus* 25, 10, 8 t. quae praestitisset; 28, 8, 2 t. deos; *obtestatus* 7, 41, 7 o. patres; 32, 22, 6 o. filium. *Vaticinatus* 9, 2, 1; and 35, 33, 7 haec nequiquam velut v. *Vociferatus* 4, 1, 6 pauca in senatu v.; 6, 14, 3; 40, 7, 9.

Mental Action.—*Ratus* (280) is the only participle of this class of frequent occurrence. The compounds of *fisus* (7) generally have the dative, and *oblitus* (14) takes the genitive. The remaining examples are as follows: *admiratus* 3, 26, 9 admiratus rogitanque; 39, 10, 3 a. cum verba tum perturbationem. *Adsensus* 23, 6, 3; 29, 20, 1; 31, 32, 1. *Commentus* 22, 16, 6 ludibrium . . . c. *Indignatus* 30, 37, 8 i. Hannibal dici ea; 31, 31, 12 i. se obsederi. *Ominatus* 29, 35, 1 and 42, 30, 8. (*Perosus* 3, 58, 1 p. scelera.) *Praemeditatus* 38, 3, 8 nihil . . . p.; 40, 23, 6 p. quae in Macedonia ab Roma renuntiarent. *Suspiciatus* 27, 47, 2; and 33, 15, 15 s. id quod erat; 35, 38, 1 seu ipsi per se suspicati, seu indicata re. *Veritus* (20) commonly followed by a clause is used with an accusative 5, 28, 4; 5, 39, 3; 8, 7, 15; 35, 33, 9; 1, 48, 5 nec reverita coetum virorum evocavit virum e curia.

Seeing.—These participles take the accusative excepting 3, 28, 1 contemplatus qui tractus castrorum quaeque forma esset. *Contemplatus* (11) occurs most frequently, e. g. 9, 36, 11 inde c. opulenta Etruriae arva milites emittit. *Conspicatus* is found 2, 20, 1; 2, 20, 8; and 25, 16, 23 c. Lucanum hospitem inter hostes . . . confertos invasit. *Speculatus* 22, 42, 5 s. omnia cum cura renuntiat insidias esse.

Of the remaining participles *usus* (11), *functus* (12), *potitus* (12) regularly take the ablative; and *nisus* (29) occasionally. *Conatus* (16), *epulatus* 33, 28, 2, *natus* (15); *ortus* with *co-* and *ex-* (62), *pactus* (17), excepting 21, 61, 11; and 24, 47, 8 are intransitive. Some others have the acc. of a noun in the smaller part of the occurrences. *Adortus* (59) is used with the acc. twenty-three times, and *passus*, generally followed by acc. and inf., takes a neuter object 28, 19, 12 omnia foeda atque indigna passi; 31, 30, 1 foeda p.; 4, 29, 7; 4, 58, 8; 32, 17, 9 id aegre p., and with a noun 6, 22, 5 rem aegre p. Romani . . . tribunum creavere; 4, 24, 7 censores aegre p. Mamercum . . . tribu moverunt. *Ausus* (38) has the acc. seven times, e. g. 8, 24, 9; and 8, 35, 6 facinus ausus. Other participles in all instances, or with but few exceptions, take the accusative. *Adeptus* (10). *Amolitus* 25, 36, 11. *Imitatus* 3, 52, 3. *Amplexus* and *complexus* have ten direct, counting 24, 16, 10 complexi inter se, and seven conjoint accusa-

tives, e. g. 2, 40, 10 complexus suos dimittit; 22, 47, 3 vir virum amplexus detrahebat equo. *Expertus* (20) has a dependent clause 24, 31, 14 e. quam vana aut levi aura mobile volgus esset; 25, 20, 7 e. qualis sub inscio duce exercitus esset; 37, 18, 5 e. . . se parem esse; with a conjoint acc. 1, 36, 4 cum ille in augurio rem expertus profecto futuram dixisset. *Frustratus* 2, 13, 6; 27, 42, 11; 27, 44, 9; 31, 38, 10; 41, 2, 4. *Metatus* 36, 10, 11. *Nactus* (29) most frequently with *spem*, has a conjoint acc. 24, 31, 14 militem n. . . subornant; and 34, 61, 2 Aristonem quendam Tyrium nactus . . . mittit. *Partitus* 9, 12, 9 p. provincias; and 33, 35, 1 p. munia. *Periclitatus* 6, 15, 1. *Populatus* (p. 5, de- 16, per- 44, 27, 3 p. Thraciam) is intransitive 3, 38, 3; and 28, 11, 13. *Sortitus* 36, 36, 1 provinciam s. *Tutatus* 36, 17, 9 neutram t. refugerunt; and 39, 2, 4 paulisper t. se, mox . . . concesserunt.

The number of distinct verbs given—77, or 134 counting compounds—includes *perosus* because of its resemblance to the other participles. A few doubtful examples have been counted, as *aspernatus* 1, 23, 6; and 29, 34, 5, though on the other hand the entire number would be considerably increased by including the accusative of the participle in indirect statements. The number of deponents which like other participles have gone their way into the ablative absolute are comparatively few in number, and the nominative has for the most part maintained itself in spite of the attractiveness of the other construction.

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VI.—HISTORY OF THE USE OF *ἐάν* FOR *άν* IN RELATIVE CLAUSES.

The seventeenth edition of Winer's N. T. Grammar states in connection with the use of *ἐάν* for *άν* in relative clauses, that the editors of the text of the N. T. have not yet ventured to change *ἐάν* to *άν* in these cases. Grammarians have made no attempt to explain this peculiarity of the later Greek language which is prevalent in the Septuagint.¹

In classical Greek there is MS authority for its usage in two places; Xenophon, *Memorabilia*, 3, 10, 12; Lysias, 17, 18, whose dates may be placed at 400–375 B. C., at least one hundred and twenty-five years before the earliest translations of the LXX. Fischer, Becker, Dindorf and many others correct to *άν*; Athenaeus 12, p. 517 (date 228 A. D.) and Achilles Tat. (date 500 A. D.) give instances of late classical usage.

In the first translation of the Hebrew Bible (250 B. C. ca.) the usage is very common. It occurs sixteen times in Genesis, twelve in Exodus, thirty in Deuteronomy, very frequently in Leviticus and throughout the prophetic books. There are more examples of this usage in one of the books of the Pentateuch than in the entire works of Polybius, Philo and Josephus. The usage is common in the Gospels and in the Pauline writings. We have therefore in the LXX data covering the period 250 B. C. to 100 A. D. at least. Grenfell and Hunt's three volumes of Papyri yield many examples of the usage. Volume I of the Oxyrhynchus Papyri yields examples dating 81 to 600 A. D. Volumes one and two of the Egyptian Papyri give but one case dating 400 A. D. The Byzantine writers show an occasional usage of *ἐάν* for *άν*. It is common in Polycarp, Clement of Rome and Origen, but rare in Josephus and Philo.

Winer's suggestion that the peculiarity is based upon popular usage is supported by the evidence of its use in the non-literary Papyri as early as 81 A. D. Among the Papyri dating 127 B. C. to 81 A. D. the relative conditional clauses have invariably the classical form with *άν*. On the other hand, the fact that nearly

¹Comp. Jannaris. § 1774 gives more; e. g. *Mem.* 4, 2, 29; *Hiero* 1, 14.

all the examples of the usage before the first century A. D. are found in the translations of Hebrew or in writings which are under Hebraic influence is a strong argument for suspecting that the peculiarities of the Hebrew language had something to do with this peculiarity of the later Greek.

Only two cases occur before the LXX. If these two cases in Xenophon and Lysias represent a popular usage, it would seem, then, that there was something in the idiom which appealed to the Septuagint translators as expressing something which the regular form with *άν* did not express, and as suitable for translating some idiom of Hebrew which could not be expressed by the regular construction.

We are confronted at the outset of our study of the usage in the LXX by the enormous number of variant readings of *έάν* and *άν*. The Vatican manuscript B shows an inconsistent use of *έάν*. Codex Ambrosianus persistently corrects to *άν*, while no one of the texts is consistent with itself as a whole. However, by separating all the cases which have variant readings from those cases wherein all the MSS agree, and by studying the latter cases by themselves we can arrive at a consistent usage of *έάν* for *άν* in the LXX.

Genesis 6/17 and 26/2 furnish good examples of the distinction of *έάν* and *άν* in relative clauses.

1) 6/17; *όσα έάν ή έπί της γης τηλευτήσει*

2) 26/2; *κατοίκησον δέ έν τη γη ή άν σοι είπω*

The distinction in these two relative clauses is due to an effort to distinguish between the complete and the incomplete relative clause in Hebrew. The Hebrew of 6/17 is *כל אשר בארץ ינוח* and of 26/2 *שכן בארץ אשר אמר אליך*

A distinction is here made between a relative clause which has an antecedent in Hebrew and that which has no antecedent; the former with antecedent is known as an incomplete relative clause and the latter without antecedent is known as a complete relative clause. *כל* can not be regarded as the antecedent of *אשר* in the first example. The relative clause is therefore treated as complete. Now this assumes on the part of the translators a feeling for Semitic idiom. *אשר* like *ša* in Assyrian is not a relative pronoun but merely a particle of relation and much weaker than *ša* or *šā* which carry with them a pronominal as well as a relative force. The *אשר* of the complete relative clause having no antecedent

to define it is thus in the feeling of a Greek doubly weak, hence the Septuagint translator strengthens the translation of a complete relative clause by using the stronger form *ἐάν* regarding his *δοσα* as representing a word too weak to begin the condition. In other words *ἐάν* is used in translating the Hebrew relative clause which has no antecedent and *άν* in translating the Hebrew relative clause which has an antecedent. Compare also Genesis 2/19; 21/22; 24/41; 30/33; 41/45 with 24/14; 26/2; 48/6.

A complete statement for the LXX of Genesis is:—

άν with antecedent 5 times. *ἐάν* with antecedent 2 times.
άν without " 0 " *ἐάν* without " 8 "

This table applies only to cases without variant readings. The Alexandrian MS, which is the best authority for the text of Genesis, translates every case of *ἐάν* with antecedent by *άν* and is corrected to *ἐάν* by MSS F, E and D in four places. MS A yields two more cases of *ἐάν* without antecedent, making the number of such cases in Genesis ten. DE and DF each yield one, making the number in Genesis twelve. I am inclined to agree with the more difficult reading *ἐάν* in cases where respectable MSS offer variant readings. This would give, as stated above, twelve cases of *ἐάν* without antecedent against two cases where it is used with antecedent as in Genesis 15/14, τὸ δὲ ἔθνος ᾧ ἐάν κτέ. and 20/13 εἰς πάντα τόπον οὗ ἐάν εἰσελθωμεν. Philo, Quis Rerum Div. Heres, 55, quotes Gen. 15/14 with *άν* which may be based on upon some unknown MS or may be a correction by him.

The table for Deuteronomy is:—

άν with antecedent 29 times. *ἐάν* with antecedent once.
άν without " 2 " *ἐάν* without " 10 times.

F changes four of the cases of *ἐάν* without antecedent to *άν*. B writes *ἐάν* in thirteen cases with antecedent, all of which are read *άν* by A and F. A and F disagree with B in most cases in the Pentateuch. After F drops out in Joshua the variants between A and B grow less and less, although throughout the LXX there is a tendency in B to use *ἐάν* indiscriminately. In the entire LXX, however, there are but thirteen cases of *ἐάν* used with antecedent and ninety-one cases of its use without antecedent in undisputed readings.

That the usage was suited to translate this idiom of Hebrew is shown by the different treatment it receives in the books of the Maccabees. First Maccabees is based upon a Hebrew original (ca. 105-50 B. C.) and yields no cases of *ἐάν* with antecedent against three without. Third Maccabees uses *ἐάν* once with antecedent.

Outside of translations from Hebrew the use of *ἐάν* in relative sentences is rare. The Logia of Jesus, written originally in Aramaic, yield over two-thirds of the relative conditional clauses with *ἐάν* in the New Testament. There are no examples of *ἐάν* with antecedent in the N. T. which are without variant readings. Codex D has consistently corrected *ἐάν* to *ἄν* in over half the cases where *ἐάν* occurs in relative clauses, repeating the example of F in the Hexateuch. No single MS is consistent with itself. It is only by eliminating the variants that the law of the usage can be fixed.

The Logia of Jesus are about evenly divided between *ἐάν* and *ἄν*. Compare Matthew 5/22; 5/31; 20; 27 with 5/32; 12/32; 16/19; 18/18. The versions of Symmachus, Theodotion and Aquila yield seven cases of *ἐάν* in relative sentences, all of which are without antecedent. Compare in Field's Hexapla Dt. 26/2; Ez. 3/1; Gen. 11/6. Philo and Josephus follow the classical usage almost wholly, even correcting *ἐάν* to *ἄν* in their LXX quotations. In the entire works of Philo there are only five cases of *ἐάν* in relative clauses, and these are all without antecedent; cf. Lex Alleg. bk. 3/16 and 3/195, also Volume two of Cohn's edition, pages 16, 20 and 236.

In Josephus the usage is classical. I have collated only Volume one of Niese's edition, in which every case has a variant reading. Irenaeus, Eusebius, Origen and Clement of Alexandria follow the usage of the LXX. Compare Vol. 8 of Migne's Patrologie, page 187, *ὅς ἐάν* without antecedent, also page 358. In Irenaeus, Vol. 7 of the Patrologie, page 657, footnote, a passage of Irenaeus is reproduced as misquoted by the Heretics. In the text of the Heretics *ἄν* without antecedent of Irenaeus is quoted as *ἐάν*, pointing again to popular usage. In Clement of Rome *ἐάν* is used frequently in clauses without antecedent. Compare Ad Cor. 12/6; Epistle of Barnabas 7/11 and Hermas Pastor 3/4.

Enough evidence has been produced to prove that the influence of Hebrew upon the Greek relative clause has been extensive

and consistent. The usage begins to be frequent with the translations from Hebrew and is continued in Jewish Christian writings. On the other hand, there are evidences pointing to its origin in the popular idiom. This origin I conjecture to have been caused by the effort to emphasize the abstract conditional aspect of the relative clause. This would of course occur much more frequently with relatives without antecedent than when they were defined by an antecedent. Both of the cases in classical Greek are without antecedents. This popular idiom met the necessity which the LXX translators felt in their effort to distinguish between the complete and incomplete relative clauses when translating from Hebrew. The transcribers of A, and especially of F, objected to this vernacular expression and corrected to the classical form.

The construction known as *casus pendens* doubtless had something to do in influencing the translators to use *ἐάν* in relative clauses. Compare II Chron. 6/29 where *πάσα δέησις* represents *כָּל תְּהִנָּה* in the *casus pendens* construction, which is therefore unconnected with the following construction. The *וְשֵׁנִי* in this sentence is therefore treated as having no antecedent and is translated by *ἢ ἐάν*. The usage therefore depends upon two things, 1) the presence or absence of an antecedent, 2) the conditional force of the relative clause.

In the N. T. the rule of using *ἐάν* in sentences without antecedent is invariably followed, almost invariably in the O. T. and in Christian Greek writers. Beginning with relative pronominal clauses the usage spread to relative 'adverbial' clauses. *ὡς ἐάν* occurs once in LXX, Judges 7/5; several times in Clement of Rome and later writers, and the use of *άν* or *ἐάν* with *καθότι*, *καθώς*, *ὡς*, *οὕ* ('where'), depends in LXX largely upon whether the original Hebrew *כִּי*, *כַּאֲשֶׁר*, etc., have an antecedent or not, although the usage with relative adverbs is generally classical in LXX.

VII.—CACOPHONY IN JUVENAL, HORACE AND PERSIUS.

The student of Latin occasionally meets with that species of alliteration known as "cacophony." Quintilian (Inst. IX, 4, 41) says care should be taken that the final syllables of a preceding word, and the initial syllables of that which follows may not be the same: *videndum etiam ne syllabae verbi prioris ultimae sint primae sequentis*.

And Servius, commenting on "Dorica castra" of Vergil (Aen. II, 27) says it is bad style to begin a word with that syllable with which the word before it was ended: *mala est compositio ab ea syllaba incipere qua superior finitus est sermo*. It is a principle, however, which even the best writers have violated. This may be seen not only in the actual final and initial syllables of successive words, but also in the repetition of two or more letters not constituting identical syllables.

An article by Biese on this kind of alliteration may be found in the *Rheinisches Museum*, XXXVIII, p. 634.

Biese deals chiefly with examples taken from Lucretius, Vergil, Ovid, Propertius and Tibullus. He cites 34 examples from Lucretius, 7 from Vergil's *Georgics*, 60 or more from the *Aeneid*, and 1 from the *Eclogues*. He also cites more than 30 examples from Ovid, but makes no mention of Horace, Juvenal or Persius. Mayor cites some 9 or 10 examples from Juvenal in his edition of this author, and some other editors make brief mention of a few examples.

My own interest in the subject led me to work it out more thoroughly for Juvenal, and to extend my investigations to Persius, and to the *Satires*, *Epistles*, *Ars Poetica*, and *dactylic Odes* and *Epodes* of Horace. In comparing my results with those obtained by Biese some striking differences in the several authors examined may be seen, as regards the use of this figure.

Biese has observed that the majority of instances in Lucretius is the repetition of the syllable 're.' Since this is found most often in the fifth dactylic foot, Biese concludes that Lucretius did not shun the repetition of the same syllable, but rather sought it that he might have short syllables for forming the fifth dactyl. In Lucretius

there may be found also single examples of the repetition of such syllables as 'ra' 'ne' 'se' 'te' 'de' and 'que.' Even so finished a poem as Vergil's *Georgics*, as mentioned before, shows faults of this kind. Most of these are made by the repetition of 're' in the fifth foot. Of the 60 examples in the *Aeneid* 47 are the repetition of 're', and these, like the most of the other examples, are found in the fifth foot. Vergil exhibits a slightly greater variety of repeated syllables than Lucretius. It would appear that, if Lucretius permitted cacophony for the sake of getting short syllables for the fifth foot, Vergil, and likewise Ovid, did the same. For part of the 30 examples which Biese cites from Ovid are found in the *Metamorphoses*, and most of these are in the fifth foot. But Ovid and the other writers of elegy — Catullus, Tibullus and Propertius — employ this repetition sparingly and cautiously.

In the *Satires* of Juvenal I have observed the following examples; if there are others, I failed to notice them in twice going over the writings of Juvenal with that subject in mind:

Satire II, 1 libet et; 33 solveret et.

III, 54 tanti tibi; 92 licet et; 144 habet et and licet et; 284 iubet et.

IV, 34 licet et (some MSS have licet hic); 129 memoraret et; 146 traxerat at.

V, 58 te teneam; 101 sedet et; 141 licet et.

VI, 101 prandet et; 149 calet et; 237 latet et; 238 pavet (or silet) et; 250 nisi si; 283 licet et; 541 scilicet et; 546 implet et; 635 scilicet et.

VII, 105 gaudet et; 124 libet (or licet) et; 131 solet et; 162 quicquid id.

VIII, 59 fervet et; 152 sumet et; 154 solvet et; 190 sedet et.

IX, 96 ardet et; 108 audiet et; 142 notet et.

X, 1 Gadibus usque; 87 neget et; 320 fiet et.

XII, 14 iret et; 20 crederet et.

XIII, 36 peieret et; 91 peierat atque.

XIV, 30 implet et; 156 scilicet et; 195 adnotet et; 199 piget et; 263 licet et; 315 si sit.

XV, 71 ridet et; 74 audet et.

None were found in the first, eleventh and sixteenth *Satires*. The total number of examples here given from Juvenal is 48, of which 40 are the repetition of 'et'. He does not once repeat 're', which is so often repeated by Lucretius and Vergil.

It is also worthy of notice that only 5 of the 48 examples cited are used in forming the fifth dactylic foot alone. These 5 are all made by the repetition of 'et,' and are the following: IV, 129; VI, 101; VII, 105; IX, 96; XV, 71. The others are distributed throughout the remaining feet of the verse as follows: ten are used in the first foot alone, and all but one are the repetition of 'et'; eight in the first and second feet; six in the second and third; one each in the second and the fourth; four in the third and fourth; ten in the fourth and fifth; three in the fifth and sixth.

If we assume with Biese that Lucretius, and if Lucretius, so Vergil and Ovid, sought this repetition in order to find short syllables to form the fifth dactylic foot, we must admit that Juvenal did not feel that need to the same degree. For, as we have shown, the repetitions in the fifth and sixth feet together do not equal those found in the first foot.

As we have already remarked, Juvenal never repeats the syllable 're,' which is so often repeated by Lucretius and Vergil; and only very rarely do the other writers cited by Biese repeat 'et,' which Juvenal repeats 40 times. I think Biese mentions no such use of 'et' in the writers he discusses, although there are a few examples (cf. Lucretius II, 32 *adridet et*; and Vergil, Georg. I, 493 *scilicet et*). Evidently to Juvenal's mind the repetition of 'et' was no more offensive than the coming together of 'at et,' 'it et,' 'et at,' and 'et ut,' all of which are common in Juvenal, Horace, Persius, and indeed all Latin writers.

In the tenth Satire of Juvenal, verse 122, is an example of the repetition of two syllables of the same word. This is a verse quoted from what is supposed to have been a poem of Cicero on his consulship, but now lost. The verse runs as follows: *O fortunatam natam me consule Romam*. Quintilian (IX, 4, 41) quotes this verse as an example of disagreeable alliteration, and adds another from a lost letter of Cicero: *Res mihi invisae visae sunt, Brute*. Cicero never grew tired of making puns, and that fact may account for such expressions as those last cited, and also for the following from his writings: *pleniore ore*, de Off. I, 18, 61; *acer acerbis*, Brut. 221; *moles molestiarum*, de Or. I, 2. Terence furnishes a few good examples, as *pannis annisque*, Eun. 236; *tudisti isti*, Heaut. 382 (not by all MSS). Another well-known passage in Terence is *Taedet quotidianarum harum formarum*, Eun. 297, where, as Lewis remarks, the repetition adds beauty. Afranius, 246, has *In collum plorat orat occurrit nepos*.

There are a few instances of cacophony in Horace's dactylic verses—the only ones I examined. They are as follows:

Sat. I, 1, 66 sibilat at; 99 metuebat at: 5, 82 stultissimus usque.

II, 2, 126 saeviat atque; 6, 73 pertinet et.

Epis. I, 1, 95 occurri rides.

II, 1, 89 nos nostraque: 247 dilecti tibi; 2, 20 proficiscenti tibi; 194 discrepet et.

A. P. 33 exprimet et; 40 potenter erit; 355 caret et.

Epod. XII, 19 in indomito.

Of these 14 examples less than half are used in forming the fifth foot. It will be observed that Horace repeats 'et' four times and 'at' three times.

From the 650 verses of Persius' Satires the following six examples are taken: III, 42 si sibi; 62 ferat atque; 95 quidquid id; V, 25 crepet et; 81 dixit ita; VI, 65 quidquid id. Not one of these is found in connection with the fifth foot; but they are found in the first, second, third or fourth foot. A characteristic feature of Persius' style is the repetition of the same word in many places. This does not produce cacophony but tends rather toward emphasis and vigor. Examples are Sat. I, 11 tunc, tunc; 87 hoc! hoc; 111 omnes, omnes; 120 vidi, vidi; II, 50 iam, iam; III, 23 nunc nunc; 41 and 42 imus, imus; VI, 58 and 59 unum, unum; 68 nunc, nunc.

It might be interesting to know how far cacophony was permitted by all writers of hexameter verse during the empire. I have observed that it is permitted by Lucan and Martial to some extent, but I am unable to give the data for these authors.

In the treatment of this subject the word "syllable" has been used somewhat loosely. It is thus used by others who have referred to the subject of cacophony. If we adhere strictly to the rule for the division of words into syllables, we will find that only five of the examples cited from Juvenal really illustrate the repetition of the same identical syllable.

In Horace the proportion is greater, for five of the fourteen examples cited show exact repetitions. The sound of 'licet et' is not quite so harsh as that of 'licet cet' would be, yet the succession of similar sounds in 'licet et' is such as to bring it under the head of cacophony. The same may be said of each of the other combinations exhibited.

REVIEWS AND BOOK NOTICES.

Die Fragmente der Vorsokratiker Griechisch und Deutsch von
HERMANN DIELS. Berlin, Weidmannsche Buchhandlung,
1903. Pp. x + 601.

By his long and fruitful labors in this field Professor Diels had proved his unrivalled fitness for editing the fragments of the pre-Socratics; hence, while few were aware that the work conceived twenty years ago was nearing completion, the publication of it is sure to be welcomed everywhere with the highest anticipations. The author, indeed, speaks sadly of his inability, by reason of circumstances beyond his control, to realize his long cherished ideals and of the change in his plans thereby entailed. He had hoped to be enabled to base his work upon solid foundations provided by adequate critical editions of those authors, to whose writings is chiefly due the preservation of the fragments. But such editions do not exist, and in some instances have not even been undertaken.¹ Hence we possess only a manual designed to serve as a basis for lectures and as a guide for the use of beginners in philology and philosophy.

It will be well, first of all, to glance at the contents of the volume. That which the author by the title designates as of prime importance is the editing and translating of the fragments themselves. To these he has added the 'essential' biographical and doxographical records. The number of names presented is surprisingly large. Professor Diels himself tells us that there are more than four hundred. Besides the long succession of pre-Socratics proper from Thales onward, our author, herein following Zeller, has included the 'Ausläufer' of the Atomic school, albeit dating after the time of Socrates—Nessas, Metrodorus of Chius, Diogenes of Smyrna, Anaxarchus, Hecataeus of Abdera, Apollodorus,² Nausiphane, Diotimus, Bion of Abdera, and Bolus.³ There are also four appendices: I. Cosmological Poetry, treating of Orpheus, Musaeus and Epimenides; II. Astrological Poetry,

¹ While we are waiting for the edition of Laertius Diogenes promised by Martini, we are glad to note the great improvement made in the portions of the text here presented.

² Zeller, *1^b* 966, following Clem. Strom. II. 417 A, writes Apollodotus; but Diels is undoubtedly right in accepting the form found in Laertius and Pliny.

³ Not mentioned by Zeller. On the other hand, Diels does not regard Diagoras as deserving of special treatment, and Zeller also is in doubt on that score. But it seems strange that Diagoras should be excluded and Polyclitus added (p. 237), for his Canon was certainly not more truly philosophical than the opinions of Diagoras.

comprising Phocus and Cleostratus; III. Cosmological Prose, including Pherecydes of Syrus, Theagenes and Acusilaus; IV. The Older Sophists, embracing Protagoras, Xenias, Gorgias, Prodicus, Thrasyarchus, Hippas, Antiphon, Critias, the Anonymus of Iamblichus and the anonymous *Dialexeis*. The volume ends with an exhaustive list of names giving references to the passages where they occur.

In his preface Professor Diels promises 'in nicht allzulanger Zeit' a supplemental pamphlet in which he hopes to give a somewhat detailed justification of the text and the arrangement he has adopted, besides full indices to matters, words and sources. The admirable indices with which the '*Doxographi*' was provided give ample assurance that the addition will greatly enhance the value of the book.

Of the collection of fragments one cannot but speak in terms of highest praise. Not only are we assured of a conservative and honest text,¹ but we are also measurably certain that no genuine fragment now accessible has been overlooked. Professor Diels has added a considerable number to those of the last previous editions; and special publications in *Hermes* and in book-form have afforded ample opportunity for additions, if any were to be noted. On the other hand, there is everywhere evidence of sober judgment in the exclusion of alleged fragments. The categories 'genuine', 'doubtful', 'spurious', as here applied to the groups of fragments, will certainly prove helpful to the neophyte.² Nevertheless, one can hardly free one's mind from the impression, however difficult it may be to maintain one's doubts, that too much rather than too little has been accepted as genuine in the fragments of Philolaus and in the moral sentences of Democritus.

Turning now to the translations, we find them simply but happily phrased without recourse to adventitious embellishment. It would be an easy matter to specify many passages where the rendering proves to be the best possible commentary. The translations of Parmenides and Heraclitus, previously published, had given us a foretaste of what was yet to come. Indeed,

¹I have not been able to convince myself of the soundness of the form *παριστάται*, Parmen. fr. 16, 2. The transposition of *ἀέρος* and *γῆς* in Heraclitus, fr. 76, in accordance with the suggestion of Tocco, appears to me to be rendered rather doubtful by the comparison with Lucr. I. 783 ff. The conjecture *ὄλω δέει ἄρθρον* (Emped. fr. 32) for *διὰ δέει ὁρθῶς* is hazardous, although it bears the marks of genius.

²Like care has been exhibited in the doxographic reports concerning the Pythagoreans. The old stock is given and the later accretions rejected. I fancy, however, that more will be seen to be alluded to by Aristotle than has been suspected. For example, in *Arch. für Gesch. der Phil.*, XIV. 395 ff., I labored to show that the conception of the *περισσόν* as the *μέσον ἔχον* might have been known to Aristotle, since it was reported by Aristoxenus (cp. *Vorsokr.* p. 280, l. 33 ff.). I did not then know, and apparently it has escaped the notice of Professor Diels, that Aristotle distinctly alluded to the notion Met. 1083^b 29 *διὰ τοῦτο ὥς αὐτὸ τὸ ἐν ποιῶσιν ἐν τῷ περιττῷ μέσον*.

obvious improvement over those of Mullach, Tannery and Burnet may be noted at almost every turn; perhaps the most striking advance is to be recorded in the rendering of the Eleatics, where a singular blending of the concrete and the abstract has often foiled the translator. One instance will serve sufficiently to illustrate my point: Melissus, fr. 7 *εἰ γὰρ ἑτεροιοῦνται, ἀνάγκη τὸ εἶν μὴ ὁμοῖον εἶναι, ἀλλὰ ἀπόλλυσθαι τὸ πρόσθεν εἶν, τὸ δὲ οὐκ εἶν γίνεσθαι*. Here translators have regarded *ὁμοῖον* as the important word in its clause and have rendered accordingly: 'necesse est ens non simile esse' (Mullach), 'then the real must needs not be all alike' (Burnet); while Diels has rightly perceived the characteristic Eleatic stress on *εἶναι* and translates 'so muss notwendiger Weise das, was ist, nicht mehr gleichmässig vorhanden sein.' On the other hand, the rendering 'sich trennt' for *ἀπαλλαχθῆ* in Diogenes of Apollonia, fr. 4 (p. 348, l. 25), seems to me unfortunate: it suggests parting instead of departing.

We may now consider the treatment of the biographical and doxographical records, which, though receiving no express recognition in the title, occupy by far the greater part of the book. As we have above stated, Professor Diels does not here profess to be exhaustive, but promises to offer what is 'essential.' In regard to the biographical notices I have remarked nothing deserving of criticism. The author's well-known studies in the chronology of the early philosophers have preëminently fitted him for the task of making a just selection from the mass of unequal testimony. Indeed the task was at this point comparatively simple, because so clearly defined. The case stands very differently, however, with the doxographical reports. Here any attempt at exclusion, that is not based upon manifest untrustworthiness, is likely to provoke question or dissent. In the nature of the case, the principle of selection must depend upon a conscious or unconscious evaluation, and that in turn will depend on the range of interest the compiler may have in the problems considered. Indeed, no student could well be expected to have set like value upon all phases of the thought of a people in a period at once phenomenally active and many-sided. Hence what seems to one unimportant, may appear to another supremely essential.

The necessity of saving space and of keeping within the limits of a handbook was no doubt the determining factor in leading the author to present selections in lieu of the whole. Of the various notices in Aetius touching Thales only one (I. 7. 11) is reproduced. In the chapter on Heraclitus no reference is made to the numerous passages in Aristotle where the doctrine of the coëxistence of opposites is referred to as violating the logical principle of non-contradiction, nor to the statement of Theophrastus, *de sensu* § 1, that Heraclitus asserted the perception of things by their opposites. One might be inclined to think that Professor Diels had rejected

the reading 'Hράκλειτον, long suspected,¹ were it not that the traditional text is printed in the chapter on Parmenides (p. 115). The notice possesses unusual interest because Heraclitus and Anaxagoras appear to be the only pre-Socratic philosophers to whom the doctrine is specifically referred, whereas Aristotle repeatedly speaks as if perception by contraries and interaction between the unlike were almost universally taught. Under Heraclitus A 6, we might have expected at least a reference to Lucr. I. 647 ff., 666, etc. Again, Lucr. I. 830 ff. is quoted (p. 315) for the doctrine of Anaxagoras, while no mention is made of I. 875 ff., a passage which is at least equally authentic and instructive. Professor Diels (p. 168, 13) quotes Arist. *phys.* 252^a 7 *ἔοικεν Ἐμπεδοκλῆς ἀν εἰπεῖν ὥς τὸ κρατεῖν καὶ κινεῖν ἐν μέρει τὴν Φιλίαν καὶ τὸ Νείκος ὑπάρχει τοῖς πράγμασιν ἐξ ἀνάγκης, ἡρεμεῖν δὲ τὸν μεταξὺ χρόνον.* Now there is another passage where the same subject is broached, and to my mind it is more clear and specific: *phys.* 250^b 26 *Ἐ. <λέγει> ἐν μέρει κινεῖσθαι καὶ πάλιν ἡρεμεῖν, κινεῖσθαι μὲν ὅταν ἡ Φιλία ἐκ πολλῶν ποιῇ τὸ ἐν ᾧ τὸ Νείκος πολλὰ ἐξ ἑνός, ἡρεμεῖν δ' ἐν τοῖς μεταξὺ χρόνοις.*² A somewhat similar instance occurs p. 315, l. 21, where Professor Diels breaks off in the midst of Aristotle's report (*phys.* 203^a 19 ff.) concerning Anaxagoras.

There are several additions which, as it seems to me, would have greatly enhanced the value of this handbook. Compared to that of Ritter and Preller cross-references³ and references to additional passages are few. No doubt there is vastly more presented here in the text itself; but, being certain that all the materials for the history of early Greek thought were ready to the author's hand, we cannot but regret that the added space required to refer briefly to what could not be reprinted *in extenso* should not have been provided even at the cost of a second volume. The supplemental pamphlet might in some measure supply the loss; but the remedy would be tardy at best, as the value of a reference lies largely in being so obtruded as not to be overlooked. In like manner the admirable notes of Professor

¹ Philippson had proposed Democritus, Diels (Dox. p. 499) had thought of Clidemus; but there is now no suggestion that this opinion is still entertained. I believe that Theophrastus meant Heraclitus, though I also believe that he was in error. I cannot now develop this point.

² In *Poetarum Philosophorum Fragmenta*, p. 118 on fr. 26, the passage was given, and hence there was less need of a special reference to it; but in the 'Vorsokratiker' that passage, together with many others that give the context in which the fragments are cited, is omitted. It seems to me that this is much to be deplored. The fragments of Heraclitus, indeed, are generally printed without the context. Of course there are special reasons, obvious to every scholar, for this procedure in the case of Heraclitus, but it is none the less to be regretted.

³ Such references are more frequent in the *adnotationes* to the fragments in *Poet. Phil. Fragment.*, and lead one to expect them in the supplemental pamphlet.

Diels in his 'Herakleitos von Ephesos'¹ beget the desire that they and many others like them, might be made accessible without the necessity of consulting all the special studies and editions which preceded the publication of the present volume. Notes as extensive as those in 'Parmenides Lehrgedicht' would of course be out of the question; but Professor Diels has shown that he can put his point briefly.

In his preface the author says: 'Die Anordnung des Ganzen musste die einzelnen Persönlichkeiten möglichst getrennt halten. Gegenüber der pragmatischen Zusammenfassung der Schulen, wie sie für die eigentliche Geschichtschreibung nötig erscheint, hat es ein gewisses Interesse, nun auch einmal die Individuen als solche zu betrachten'. The idea is excellent and it has been admirably carried out; but there is involved in it, after all, a certain loss which might have been easily obviated. There are in Aristotle, in his commentators, and in the doxographers, many comprehensive statements which embrace either the whole range of 'physical' philosophers or a considerable number of them. Some of them refer to recognized 'schools' which are generally grouped together by Professor Diels. It would seem quite possible, therefore, to have added them without seriously disarranging the order as we now have it. The most sweeping generalizations might have been placed at the beginning of the volume, the others before the special groups to which they severally refer. Some of these statements have, to be sure, been admitted because they chanced to name a particular philosopher, but most of them, if I mistake not, have been excluded on principle. Apart from the incidental value of having such statements appear under the head of stated thinkers, it would certainly be productive of good results to regard them as a special body of testimony. I am not aware that any one has ever critically considered their value as a whole, although every historian of early Greek thought is led to infer from them individually more or less important conclusions.

As was inevitable with a work of such proportions, the book continued to grow even while passing through the press. The selection from the Persians of Timotheus (p. 491) was probably one of the contributions of the author's colleague, von Wilamowitz. Various minor points indicate that the whole was not altogether unified. P. 3. l. 23, Diels reads *αὐτῶι*, whereas, in a later quotation of the same passage (p. 72, Heraclitus fr. 38), he prints *αὐτό*. Again, down to p. 166 marginal figures to number the lines of

¹ The note on fr. 108 on the *σοφὸν κεχωρισμένον*, it seems to me, must certainly be wrong. If, according to Heraclitus, all is Fire, and Fire is God, then God cannot be *κεχωρισμένον*. The case is different with Anaxagoras and Aristotle. With them the *Noûs* and God are separated from the world in order that they may touch it without being touched again; Plato also regards the Ideas as, indeed, the causes, but not the sum of all things. But there is no room in the system of Heraclitus for such a conception. It seems to me that there is no need to identify *σοφόν*, especially without the article, with the Deity.

the page are confined to the 'Lives' of Laertius Diogenes; from that page forward they are used almost everywhere, greatly facilitating reference.¹

In a number of passages Professor Diels corrects errors in his Doxographi. Thus p. 135 he now rightly attributes to Zeno the Eleatic Aet. IV. 9. 1, which he formerly ascribed to Zeno of Citium (Dox., Index p. 705); p. 283, l. 38, he now appears to look with some favor upon Reiske's conjecture, ἀναπολοῦσιν for MSS ἀναποδοῦσιν, though he cashiered the suggestion rather contemptuously, Dox., p. 51. P. 343, l. 9, he refers Aet. I. 3. 17, to Diogenes of Apollonia² rather than to Diogenes of Babylon (the Stoic), 'der in den Placita nicht vorkommt' (cp. Dox., Index, p. 676). P. 345, l. 43, he now rightly attributes Aet. IV. 9. 8 to Diogenes of Apollonia instead of Diogenes of Smyrna, 'der in den Placita nicht vorkommt'.

There are also several passages in which I have noted more or less important changes from readings formerly adopted by the author. P. 142 (de Melisso, Xenophane, Gorgia, 974^a 24) Diels now reads εἰ τῷ μεμίχθαι τὸ, whereas, in his special edition of the tractate (Berlin, 1900), he printed εἰ τὸ μεμίχθαι τι. Laert. Diog. VIII. 52 he now accepts Sturz's conjecture Ἡρακλείδης (of Pontus) for MSS Ἡράκλειος. To be sure he had already pronounced it probable in Poet. Phil. Fragmen., p. 75, 1. In Theophrastus, *de sensu*, § 39, for λεπτότατον δ' ἐν οἷς ἡ διάθεσις ἀσύμμετρος, καὶ (Dox., p. 510, 16) he now (p. 344, l. 29) proposes λεπτά, τὸν δ' ἐν οἷς <ἀν> ἡ διάθεσις ἀ. ἥ. Ibid. § 41, for μακροτέρων he suggests μικροτέρων (p. 344, l. 39), and for λεπταὶ καθάπερ † he reads λεπταί, <καὶ ἀ> καθάπερ (p. 344, l. 43). In Aet. V. 15. 4 for MSS ἐν θερμασίᾳ (where he had suggested ἐνθερμανθέντα, Dox., 426, 6) he now proposes ἐνθερμα (p. 346, 15). Dox., 432, 23, Diels printed Aet. V. 20. 5 Διογένης μετέχειν μὲν αὐτὰ τοῦ νοητοῦ καὶ ἀέρος, διὰ δὲ τὸ τὰ μὲν πυκνότητι, τὰ δὲ πλεονασμῷ τῆς ὑγρασίας*, μῆτε διανοεῖσθαι μῆτε αἰσθάνεσθαι, προσφερώς δὲ αὐτὰ διακείσθαι τοῖς μεμνημένοι παραπεικός τοῦ ἡγεμονικοῦ. The passage was of course unintelligible. He now reads (p. 346, 22 ff.) προσφερώς δὴ for π. δὲ and παραπεικός (with Bernardakis) for παραπεικός, and omits the commas after ὑγρασίας and αἰσθάνεσθαι, thus giving what appears to be a sound text.

¹ The caption Aeltere Pythagoreer (p. 32) stands in such a way as to leave one in doubt what names it was designed to cover. Probably Cercops, Petron, Brotinus, Hippasus, Calliphon and Democedes, Parmiscus were intended. Similarly p. 340, l. 36, under the head Idaeus, Diels says, 'Damit setzt Zeller den Philosophen des *Μεταξύ* in Verbindung', etc. Perhaps it would be natural to conclude that Diels and Zeller identified the two philosophers, which is however not the fact, unless I am in error.

² In this Professor Diels is doubtless right; but I am not entirely convinced of the truth of the general statement that Diogenes the Stoic is not mentioned in the 'Placita.' At any rate Stein, 'Die Psychologie der Stoa,' II. 3, n. 2, makes it appear not unlikely that Aet. IV. 5. 7 Διογένης ἐν τῇ ἀρτηριακῇ κοιλίᾳ τῆς καρδίας, ἥτις ἐστὶ πνευματικὴ (sc. εἶναι τὸ ἡγεμονικὸν τῆς ψυχῆς) does in fact refer to the Stoic, though Diels (Dox., Index p. 676, and Vorsokr., p. 345, 34 ff.) assigns it to Diogenes of Apollonia.

In view of Professor Diels's intention to give the 'essential' doxographical material, the inclusion (p. 175, l. 47) of the report of Censorinus 6, 6 (ex dextris partibus profusa (read profuso) semine mares gigni, at e laevis feminas Anaxagoras Empedoclesque consentiunt) indicates apparently a change of mind on the part of the author. Dox., p. 192, he had wrongly, I think, endeavored to invalidate the testimony of Censorinus¹ on this point by showing that Empedocles accounted for the male and the female on the basis of temperature, the former being warmer, the latter colder (see Vorsokr., p. 175, l. 26 and fr. 67). It seems to me unquestionable that Empedocles in some way combined the two sets of ideas,—right and left with the hot and the cold. The connection of the male with the right and of the female with the left harks back to the *συστοιχίαι* of the Pythagoreans.² On the other hand, the physiological association of greater warmth with the right side is well attested by the words of Arist., *de gen. anim.* 666^b 6 ἔστι δ' ἡ καρδία τοῖς μὲν ἄλλοις ζῴοις κατὰ μέσον τοῦ στηθικοῦ τόπου, τοῖς δ' ἀνθρώποις μικρὸν εἰς τὰ εὐώνυμα παρεκκλίνουσα πρὸς τὸ ἀνισοῦν τὴν κατάψυξιν τῶν ἀριστερῶν.³ While Parmenides and Empedocles were in accord with the Pythagoreans in associating the male with the right, the female with the left, they disagreed in regard to the relative warmth of the sexes and the regions of the earth in which they were assumed to have first sprung into existence. Aet. V. 7. 1 'Ε. ἄρρενα καὶ θήλεα γίγνεσθαι παρὰ θερμότητα καὶ ψυχρότητα· ὅθεν ἰστορεῖται τοὺς μὲν πρώτους ἄρρενας πρὸς ἀνατολὴν⁴ καὶ μεσημβρίαν γεγενῆσθαι μᾶλλον ἐκ τῆς γῆς, τὰς δὲ θηλείας πρὸς ταῖς ἄρκτοις. 2. Π. ἀντιστρόφως· τὰ μὲν πρὸς ταῖς ἄρκτοις ἄρρενα βλαστῆναι (τοῦ γὰρ

¹ It is corroborated by Oribasius, Vorsokr., p. 176, 28, and by Galen on Emped., fr. 67.

² For Parmenides, see fr. 17; for Anaxagoras, Arist. *de gen. anim.* 763^b 31 ff. I was not aware that the dependence of Parmenides, Anaxagoras and Empedocles in this particular on the teachings of the Pythagoreans had been observed, but now find that it was noticed (for Parmenides) by Gomperz, Griech. Denker, I., p. 149.

³ Compare also the reference of the male to the south, the female to the north, of which I speak below. In view of the large measure of Aristotle's indebtedness to Empedocles, it is not improbable that this point of physiology also was derived from him, especially as Empedocles recognized a law of compensation in other matters. Cp. Vorsokr., p. 173, l. 36 ff., l. 40 ff.; p. 177, l. 10 and Theophr. de causis plant. I. 21 f. See also Clidemus, Vorsokr., p. 340, l. 20 ff.

⁴ The reference of the males to the ἀνατολή causes some difficulty. According to Aet. II. 10. 1 Pythagoras identified the right side of the world with the ἀνατολικὰ μέρη. Cp. Vorsokr., 287, 20 ff., and Zeller I., 438 ff. Possibly the difference in the assignment of right and left to the earth may be due to the distinction between the real and the apparent motions of the heavenly bodies. The Pythagoreans may well have been divided in their opinions on this score (cp. Oenopides, Vorsokr., p. 240, 1 f.). In that case the same difference might be assumed between Parmenides and Empedocles, the latter naturally adopting the more scientific view. Cp. Aet. II. 10. 2. I do not know what, if any, connection Empedocles supposed to exist between ἀνατολή and μεσημβρία. Possibly it was nothing but the uncritical combination of two Pythagorean views concerning the identification of the 'right' with the regions of the earth.

πυκνοῦ μετέχειν πλείονος), τὰ δὲ πρὸς ταῖς μεσημβρίαις θήλεα παρὰ τὴν ἀραιότητα.¹ Cp. Arist. de part. anim. 648^a 9-33.

During my rather careful perusal of the book under review, a number of questions have thrust themselves upon my attention, only two of which I will here mention. In some respects it is to be regretted that almost all the secondary records we have of the early Greek philosophers are more or less directly due to Aristotle and his successor Theophrastus. There seems to be no doubt that the pre-Socratics, in their philosophy of nature, offered by preference *mechanical* explanations of the phenomena which they observed. The mind of Aristotle, however, was apparently quite incapable of conceiving a purely mechanical process; hence we may fairly expect a rather thorough-going restatement of earlier views in accordance with his mental bias. Aristotle, for example, deals freely in conceptions which belong to the category of *ἀλλοίωσις*. Here and there he does, indeed, betray his inability to find the notion purely conceived and employed by his predecessors;² but he makes no doubt that it is there in one disguise or another. I am not now prepared to state categorically that the pre-Socratics did not know what *ἀλλοίωσις* was, but it is my distinct impression that such would be found on investigation to be the case. If there exists a detailed consideration of the question, it has escaped my notice.

Another question, closely related to the foregoing, has to do with the significance of the *κίνησις αἰδώς* attributed to so many of the earlier philosophers. The indications—not too numerous, nor too certain, I admit—of the doxographical records would seem to suggest that most of them postulated a vortex by which changes, apparently qualitative, were effected by means of the purely mechanical processes of condensation and rarefaction or of interchange and composition. Cp. Arist. de caelo 295^a 7 ff. If this suggestion should prove to be true, the homogeneity and continuity of early Greek thought must have been vastly greater than is generally supposed. The apparent diversity of doctrine in fundamentals we should then have to explain on the reasonable assumption that the philosophers themselves were most inclined to emphasize divergencies in opinion from their predecessors, and that the doxographers would most naturally select for report the more striking points of difference. In this way we might find a justification for many of the otherwise unsupported generalizations of Aristotle and the doxographers which have commonly been dismissed as unworthy of credence.

¹ Here, as was common after Anaximenes, the rare is identified with the hot, the dense with the cold. Cp. Aet. II. 20. 8 and Parm. fr. 8, 57. Since *θερμόν* (*ψυχρόν*) were standing *ἐναντιότητες*, it is possible that they were admitted into one or the other Pythagorean table of *συστοιχίαι*. Cp. Alcmaeon, Diels, *Dox.*, 442, 5.

² Cp. *de gen. et corr.* 314^a II ὅσοι δὲ πλείω τὴν ὕλην ἐνδὸς τιθέασιν οἷον Ἐμπεδοκλῆς καὶ Ἀναξαγόρας καὶ Δεύκιππος, τοῦτοις δὲ ἕτερον (sc. ἀλλοίωσιν καὶ γένεσιν ἀνάγκη εἶπεν). καίτοι Ἀναξαγόρας γε τὴν οἰκίαν φωνὴν (sc. ἀλλοίωσιν) ἠγγόησεν λέγει γοῦν ὥς τὸ γίγνεσθαι καὶ ἀπόλλυσθαι ταῦτον καθέστηκε τῷ ἀλλοιοῦσθαι.

To return now to the book under review, there are a few more matters which may receive brief notice. Professor Diels (p. 262) seems to credit the authenticity of Plato's Epist. VII. I confess that I do not share his hesitation (p. 91), in regard to Epicharmus fr. 3 (fr. 171 Kaibel), 'während 3, das der Form nach echt aussieht, dem Inhalt nach nicht dem Anfang sondern frühestens dem Ende des 5. Jahrh. anzugehören scheint.' To me it seems an evident forgery, as much from considerations of form as of matter. The entire machinery of question and answer is distinctly Platonic, and in particular the manner of asking a leading question, *ἄρ' ἔστιν αὐλησίς τι πρᾶγμα*; is clearly an imitation of a mannerism of Socrates reproduced by Xenophon (Mem. 2. 2. 1; 4. 2. 22) and Plato (e. g. Gorgias 454 C and *passim*). In the much-debated passage Cicero ad Qu. fr. II. 9. 3, Diels (p. 166) reads: Lucretii poemata ut scribis ita sunt: multis luminibus ingenii, multae *etiam* artis; sed (cum veneris) virum te putabo, si Sallustii Empedoclea legeris, hominem non putabo. I can best express my dissent from this text by referring with full approval to Professor Hendrickson's note in A. J. P. XXII., 438ff.

I have kept a list of the more important typographical errors which I chanced to note, and give it here, believing that it will be welcome. P. 17, l. 1, insert comma after *ἐγεννήθη*; p. 17, l. 28, read *ζώωι* for *ζώω*; p. 18, last line but four, read *quae-cumque*; p. 20, in Aet. IV. 3, 2 Professor Diels should not have abbreviated 'Αναξιμένης with 'A. under the head of Anaximander; p. 27, l. 3, read *δ* for *δ*; p. 27, no. 6, l. 1, insert comma after *Θρασύλος*; p. 31, l. 32, read *τούς* for *τοῦ*; p. 39, no. 8, read 620-16 for 620-61; p. 47, there are two sections numbered 41 without apparent reason; p. 89, l. 12, read *μέρεος* for *μέρεis*; p. 93, omit period at end of second verse; p. 119, fr. 2, l. 2, read *νοῶν* for *νοῶνι*; p. 122, in the passage Simpl. *phys.* 30, 13, the comma should follow *σκότος* instead of *πῦρ*; p. 126, de M. X. G. 976^b 36, a comma, not a period, after *ἀκίνητον*; p. 176, l. 44, omit comma after *δύνασθαι*; p. 237, l. 16, omit period at end of line; p. 239, l. 16, read Procl. for Ppocl.; p. 259, l. 30, read A. 4. 5. for A. 4. 6.; p. 249, l. 7, read *ταὐτὸ* for *τὰτὸ*; p. 264, l. 1, read *quia* for *quia*; p. 281, l. 9, read *ταῖς* for *τοῖς*; p. 295, l. 3, read *αὐτῶι* for *αὐτῶι*; p. 313, l. 36, read *σελήνηι* for *σελήνην*; p. 339, l. 11, read fr. 4 for fr. 3; p. 369, l. 15, read 500-497 for 500-407; p. 369, l. 24, read *γεγονῶς* for *γεγονῶς*; p. 379, l. 41, read *nullo* for *multo*; p. 395, l. 46, read *ἐάν* for *ἔαν*; p. 474, l. 1, read *πεπυκνωμένον* for *-μένων*; p. 488, l. 15, read *ΤΗΣ* for *ΤΗΣ*; p. 489, l. 17, read comma for period after *ας*.

I have taken exception to so much in Professor Diels's book that I fear I may seem to be trying to pick flaws where only the sincerest homage is due. The only adequate excuse for, so extended a criticism of the book is that it deserves all the praise and all the study one can bestow upon it. Indeed, the work of so great a master is above all praise I might express. The book is destined to be the recognized handbook of pre-Socratic

philosophy for generations to all those who are fitted to use it, and therefore, and for that reason alone, it has seemed well to indicate some of the needs which it does not meet. The faults which I have signalized are those which grew out of the plan, and touch the execution of the plan at only a few minor points. Indeed, Professor Diels himself will be the first to recognize that our disappointment is his own; namely, that he has not been able to give us the complete edition of the pre-Socratics for which we had hoped and has been compelled to content himself with issuing a handbook. Our gratitude for that which he has provided will be best shown by the diligent and intelligent use we make of it.

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W. A. HEIDEL.

MARIUS HÆGSTAD. *Hildinakvadet, med utgreiding um det norske maal paa Shetland i eldre Tid.* Christiania, 1900. Pp. x + 108.

On his journey to the Shetland isles in 1774 the Scotch scientist, George Low, collected some Specimens of the Norse Language, among which was an old lay recited to him by William Henry, a peasant from the island Foula. The Specimens also included the Lord's Prayer in Shetlandic and a list of Foula words. On his return to Scotland Low wrote a book concerning his journey to the Shetlands and a journey which he made to the Orkneys. His manuscript, which is dated 1777, included the ballad, to which he gave the title, "The Earl of Orkney and the King of Norway's Daughter: a ballad." Low's manuscript, which is the only one we have of the lay, is preserved in the Advocates Library, Edinburgh. The lay was first printed in Barrie's History of the Orkney Islands, 2nd edition, by James Headrick, London, 1808, and again in 1838 in the 1st number of P. A. Munch's "Samlinger til det norske Folks Sprog og Historie." Low's work was first published in 1879 by Joseph Anderson under the title, "A Tour Through Orkney and Shetland," by George Low, Kirkwall, Orkney. Studies toward an interpretation of the linguistically so difficult lay have been made by Professor Sophus Bugge, for whom a phototype reproduction of the pages in Low's manuscript which contain the lay were made in 1884 by Professor Joh. Storm, who that year was in Edinburgh. An edition of the lay with a commentary and translation into Old Norse by Professor Bugge is soon to appear. The present edition, which is therefore the first critical edition, is also based on the copy of 1884.

Prof. Hægstad's work purports to offer a correct interpretation of the text with an examination of its phonology, but the age and character of the lay and its relation to other northern forms do not fall within the scope of the author's work.

The manuscript reading of the lay is first given, together with the Lord's Prayer and the Norn word-list, with a chapter on the orthography and the general condition of the MS. This is followed by the corrected text (III), contents and notes to the text (IV), and the language of the lay (V) in which is discussed in detail the Old Norse vowels and consonants as they appear in the text, followed by a paragraph on Stress and one on Scotch-English influence. Chapter VI gives a resumé of results as to the language, and the position of the dialect in the Scandinavian group, which is followed by a glossary of Foula words occurring in the lay and the prayer and an autotype copy of the manuscript of the lay and Norn word-list. The author seems to have been fortunate in his interpretation of many difficult passages in the poem, and the work as a whole forms an interesting contribution to our knowledge of the history of Shetland "Norn." As the only literary relic in Old Norn, a dialect of West-Scandinavian which seems to occupy a position midway between Faroese-Icelandic on the one hand and West-Norwegian dialects on the other, it possesses considerable value linguistically and is not without interest as a piece of literature. The difficulty of interpretation has been due in large part to the extremely distorted condition of the language, but also partly to the numerous mistakes of the MS, which are of such a character as to show that Low himself could not have understood aught of what he wrote. Words are frequently split up and written as separate words, not only compound words, but also the preterite of verbs, where the preterite ending *de* is written as a separate word. Sometimes distinct words are written together as one, or a word is combined with a part of another word, as *voð lerdin* for *vodler din* (O. N. *vollr pinn*). Mistakes in the division of the verses are also common. The orthographic inconsistencies need, however, not always be attributed to Low. These may in part at least be due to the reciter of the lay, who could neither read nor write, but depended entirely on his memory of a lay, the meaning of which was not in all its parts clear to him, for he was unable to give Low a literal translation of it, though he gave the substance. At the time that the lay was written down Old Norn was in its last stages. William Henry, an old peasant of Foula, probably belonged to the last generation who had in youth been able to speak Norn. As late as 1700 the general character of the language seems to have been Norse.¹ In the eighteenth century the transition to Scotch-English became more rapid, and by 1800 Norn was no longer known, except by a few of the older generation living on the outlying isles to the North and the West, a form of Norn, however, that was undoubtedly more English than Norse, but which was called Norn by those who spoke purer English because of its archaic dialectal character. The

¹ Jakobsen, *Det norrøne Sprog paa Shetland*, København, 1897, pp. 4-10.

language of the lay is almost absolutely Norse. Out of 35 four-line stanzas, about 700 words, less than half a dozen are English. The word *yift* is Sco. *gif* and *askar* is the English *ask* with Norse inflection. Influence of Sco. *haly* is, of course, as the author says, possible in *halaght* (O. N. *heilaght*), though not necessary, cf. the words *heljahvarf* < *heillarkvarf*, and *to hent* < *heimta*, and *hemælt* < Sco. *haimald*, where *e* < *ei* represents an open e-sound (Jak. 169 and IX), which is probably the sound represented by the first *a* in *halaght*. The word *nam* is O. N. *nafn*, and has probably nothing to do with Sco. *name*, cf. Norse diall. *nam*. The author fixes the language of the poem at about 1700, though the ballad itself is undoubtedly much older, and so may contain words and forms that are older than 1700. A comparison with the language of the Lord's Prayer would suggest that the latter represents a somewhat later stage of Shetland Norn. Out of 60 words 6, or 10%, are English, *but*, *gainst*, *tempa*, *delivra*, *puri* and *glori* (§ 75), to which we may also add *for* and *forgive*, and possibly *doi* and *vill*, are part English. The language of the lay is somewhat archaic, but that of the prayer was nearer the language of the time, and may represent the condition of the Shetland language at about 1750 as it was in the island of Foula.¹ Some of the chief phonological characteristics of the lay are: O. N. *a* becomes *o* before *ng*, e. g., *gonga*, *fong*, as in West-Norwegian dialects, Nordfjord *longd*, Söndhordland. *long*, Sogn *laongd*, Ryfylke *longge*, cp. Voss *langu*. O. N. *á* usually becomes *o*, *bodin* (*bátrinn*), *grothe* (*gráti*). *E* > *i* before nasals, *in* (< *enn*), *linge* (< *lenge*), *tinka* < *penkia*. cf. Söndmøre, Söndhordland and Sogn, Norway (author, p. 35). *É* sometimes becomes *ie*, *je*, as in *hien* < *hēdan* and *lia* < *lē* < *leid*. Cf. modern Shetl. dial. *hjéla*. and Icelandic *hét* (pron. *hjet*). *Ó* usually becomes *u*, as *fur* (vb. 3. S. *fór*), *i muthi* < *i móti*. This change had begun before 1360 in the Orkney-Shetland dialects (p. 38). *Au* is preserved in *brau* (O. N. *brauð*), but simplified to *u* in *ru* < *rauð*. The monophthongation of *au* in Shetland dates back as early as 1299 (p. 43, § 23, Note 2). The simplification of diphthongs is general, *ei* > *e* (*hem* < *heima*, *mere* < *meira*) before 1307, and *ey* > *eu*, pronounced *ö* (*meun* < *meyna*, *lever* < *hleypr*). This last change is found as early as 1355 in Shetland and 1496 in Orkney. The *a* of final syllables is kept whether after a short or long stem syllable, just as in Western Norway, in Sogn, Voss, Hardanger, Hordeland, Ryfylke, Jæderen and Lister. Recurrence to the unumlauted vowel is seen in *silkisark* < O. N. *silkiserk*, and *garedin* < O. N. *gerðinni*. In the compound *silkisark* the last element may be due to Sco. *sark*. Voiced spirant *ð* > *d* where

¹ The Shetland Lord's Prayer reads: Fy vor o er i chimeri, halaght vara nam dit. La Konungdum din cumma. La vill din vera guerde i vrildin senda eri chimeri. Gav vus dagh u daghloght brau. Forgive sindorwara sin vi forgiva gem ao sinda gainst wus. Lia wus ekè o vera tempa, but delivra wus fro adlu idlu, for doi ir Konungdum, u puri, u glori, Amen.

kept—as in Norse—and different from Icelandic and Faroese. Finally and medially between vowels it is lost, as also in Norse, e. g.: *spirde* < *spurði*, *laghdð* < *lagði*, but *asta* < *af stað* (cf. Sogn.-Hardanger *asta-austa*), *bo* < *bæði*, *lian* < *leiðina*, *menn* < *mēðan*, *ro* < *rāða*. *Fn* > *mn* (and *m*) in *yamna namn* (*nam*), as commonly in Norse diall. *H* is frequently lost before a vowel, and has frequently developed initially before a vowel (cf. English, may be in part Sco.-Eng. influence). O. N. *hl. hr* > *l. r*. O. N. *hv* > *wh* on the East and *kw* on the West, the latter being pronounced *khw*, probably. An infixed *j* has frequently developed between an initial consonant and the following vowel, also frequently initially before a vowel, e. g.: *yilsa* < O. N. *heilisa*. This is very characteristic of the present dialects of Shetland. *K* has become voiced after vowel, e. g.: *bugin* < O. N. *bukinn*, *mege* < *mikit*, &c., so *tt* > *d*, e. g. *gede* < *getit*, as in Lister and Stavanger diall. in South-Western Norway. *Ll* > *dl* (*adlu*, *idlu*, *fodlin*, *godle*, *hadlin*, *spidla*, *vodlin*, *vodler*, as in Western Norway from Flekkefjord to Sogn. The combination *rn* > *dn*, as in Norway from Sogn to Jæderen. *Nn* > *dn* (*eidnar* < *hennar*, *idne* < *inni*, &c.), as is the case to a certain extent in Hardanger, Voss, Hordaland and Ryfylke in Norway (§§ 63, 3; 65, 3; 67, 3, and Larsen, Oversigt over De norske Bygdemaal, 1898, pp. 66-77). The language of the Hildina Lay seems to be most closely related to that of Ryfylke in Western Norway. In general character the language of Orkney has been very much like that of Shetland. The voiceless stops seem to have become voiced to *b*, *d*, *g*, earliest in Orkney, while the O. N. diphthongs have been simplified earlier in the Shetland language.

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GEORGE T. FLOM.

P. Ovidi Nasonis De Arte Amatoria Libri tres. Erklärt von PAUL BRANDT. Leipzig, Dieterich'sche Verlags-buchhandlung, Theodor Weicher, 1902.

Dr. Brandt dedicates his work to his friends in Leipzig and in his preface, which is also addressed to them, pays a warm tribute to the memory of Richard Richter.

The introduction of fifteen pages is mainly devoted to the contents of the poem itself and to some rather obvious conclusions and reflections suggested by them. It appears to have been written for the general reader. At all events, it is of no value to the scholar. This is somewhat disappointing when one considers the great importance of the *Ars Amatoria* as well as the number and variety of interesting questions which it suggests both as a document and as a work of art.

With the commentary, however,—which was, of course, the real object of the book—the case is different. It is written *con amore*. "Nicht weil es mir drängte, eine philologische Arbeit zu

liefern," says Brandt on the first page of his preface, "habe ich diese Ausgabe besorgt, sondern nur um das Gedicht als solches war es mir zu thun: es schien mir reichlich zu verdienen, eine zwar umfassende, aber nicht bis in die tiefsten Tiefen philologischer Minierarbeit hinabsteigende Erklärung zu finden." So far, too, as one may judge from a hasty examination of its contents the commentary shows that the editor is well acquainted with the literature of his subject. He has performed his perilous undertaking with judgment and good taste and, in scope and thoroughness, often surpasses the standard which his own words might have led us to expect. "Nichts lag mir ferner" he says, "als der Gedanke einen das letzte und abschliessende Wort in der Erläuterung der Liebeskunst sprechenden Kommentar zu schaffen. Mir kann es zunächst einmal darauf an, das Rohmaterial zu verarbeiten, das Gedichte so zu erklären, wie es uns vorliegt, und andere sehr wesentliche Untersuchungen, wie z. B. die Darstellung der Beziehungen der *Ars* zur Komödie, müssen anderen Arbeiten vorbehalten werden."

I may remark in passing, if it is worth while, that several notes which, at first sight, appear insufficient (compare, for instance, I, 59) are enlarged and completed in the appendix.

A number of illustrations from the fifth book of the *Anthologia Palatina* might be added to the notes on I, 33 and II, 277. So, also, II, 26 and 92 receive striking illustration from the elegy of Propertius on the death of Paetus, lines 9-10 and 56.

In the list of those who have told the tale of Hylas (compare note on II, 110 and the appendix) should be mentioned Valerius Flaccus III, 481, f.

As misprints I note *tessarar* for *tesseras*, III, 355, note, and *liebevoller* for *liebervoller*, II, 49, note.

Each book is preceded by a table of contents and in the body of the text, every topic is separated by a space from its successor. The device is not only useful to the reader, but also brings into bold relief the clear and precise rhetorical method which is so characteristic of Ovid, especially in this humorously scientific and didactic treatise.

A valuable appendix of over fifty pages contains a good bibliography, large additions to the commentary and indices of the proper names and of the notes. The text used is that of Ehwald.

Dr. Brandt's book is a genuine contribution to our knowledge of Ovid's work; it is also interesting in itself. The fact, however, of its mere existence is quite as interesting. This is, I believe, the first complete commentary for nearly two hundred years on one of the most remarkable books of any period. One should read—if he can—other works on the same theme in order to fully appreciate what Ovid succeeded in doing. The various Indian, Persian and Arabian *artes amatoriae*, as well as those mediaeval western compositions, founded, more or less, on Ovid himself, are all executed with that meticulous elaboration of details, that serious,

almost reverential, feeling for the subject which is, likewise, so characteristic of gastronomic treatises from Archestratos to Brillat-Savarin. Ovid caught the tone to perfection, as, of course, he intended to do, and unites it with the dogmatic attitude (compare Tibullus, I, 4) of the university professor. Here is a code, so to speak, compiled from the complete set of reports furnished by the Elegy and the Comedy of all the conventional, and unconventional, situations of a love affair. A cleverer satire of the whole subject has never been written. But unfortunately for his posthumous reputation, his severest critics in the past did not understand, or else, did not relish, the spirit in which he executed his piece of exquisite fooling.

One's enjoyment of Ovid's *Ars Amatoria* is undoubtedly a question of temperament as well as of literary training, and of worldly knowledge, if not worldly wisdom. But it is also a matter of period and environment. From this point of view, Dr. Brandt's book is significant, inasmuch as it is the most pronounced symptom of that revival of interest in Ovid the poet which may fairly be considered as a sign of the times. Much of it, of course, is due to the scientific spirit of the age and the long series of minute investigations which have brought us to a better understanding of the man, his work, and his period. But this is not all. Both in his introduction and in his commentary, Dr. Brandt several times takes occasion to emphasize the modernity of Ovid. This is true to an eminent degree. Yet it is only in recent years that the modernity of Ovid has become obvious, or, at all events, that critics have begun to mention it. Why is this the case unless it is true that, for the first time since Ovid's day, the world is getting back to the point at which it mirrors in itself, and, therefore, appreciates, certain phases of thought and points of view as they were in the first century of the Roman Empire?

However that may be, it is certain that scarcely a generation has elapsed since critics began to realize that, whatever its tendencies may be, Ovid's *Ars Amatoria* is, without question, the masterpiece of a great author. As such, it undoubtedly deserved a commentary, and Dr. Brandt has done a real service to every mature and candid student of antique life and literary art.

KIRBY FLOWER SMITH.

REPORTS.

HERMES, XXXVII.

Fascicle 3.

Lese Früchte (U. v. Wilamowitz-Möllendorff). See Hermes, XXXVII, p. 302.

Διάκτορος Ἀργεῖφόντης (Carl V. Oestergaard). Connected with the Sanskrit stem *kṣar* διάκτορος means "destroyer." In Homer, with the exception of one late passage (μ 390), it is joined regularly with Ἀργεῖφόντης, a god of light. We have thus, parallel with Apollo, a divinity of past ages that destroyed with the sun's rays. However in Homer throughout he is identified with the Argos slaying Hermes. This confusion no doubt prevented the natural absorption of this divinity by Apollo. It would be interesting to find in Ἀργεῖφόντης a connecting link between Hermes and Apollo.

Zur Eisangelie in Athen (Th. Thalheim). Two new classes of cases subject to εἰσαγγελία were malfeasance in office and crimes pertaining to things that were under the especial care of the βουλή, such as the νεώρια and the Πελαργικόν. These cases were less important and required less expedition than cases of treason. As regards chronology, εἰσαγγελίαι were lodged against criminal officials and subverters of the state with the Areopagus before its powers were transferred to the βουλή and ἐκκλησία. Down to the revolution of 411 B. C., when εἰσαγγελία was suspended, the various crimes subject to it were not yet defined. About 410 B. C., the νόμος εἰσαγγελτικός was passed, which Hypereides cites in pro Eux., and which clearly reflects the historic events of 411 B. C. Subsequently three more classes of cases were made subject to εἰσαγγελία, viz.: false promises to the people, acts prejudicial to the naval alliance and παραπρεσβεία. Death and confiscation of property were not made the fixed penalties until the middle of the IV cent. This increased severity brought with it abuse of εἰσαγγελία and its remedy; 330 B. C. and later plaintiffs were liable to pay 1000 dr. if they failed to secure one fifth of the votes.

Die griechischen Personennamen bei Plautus II (Karl Schmidt). Whereas in the previous article (Hermes XXXVII 173 ff.) those Greek proper names were discussed which occur on Greek soil or differ from them only in their endings, in this the author examines those that do not occur elsewhere.

ὄλοχύται (Ludwig Ziehen). Fritze tried to show (vid. Hermes, XXXII p. 235 ff.) that the ritual of the ὄλοχύται was a survival of a primitive form of sacrifice. Prott in Bursians Jahresb. Vol.

102, p. 82, rejects this view and regards the cathartic meaning as probable. Stengel in the new edition of his *Cultusalterthümer* (p. 99 and 146 A. 7) grants the cathartic significance in the case where the sacrificial animals are sprinkled; but still believes that the *οἰλαί* were cast into the altarfire as an offering to the gods. Ziehen after rejecting Theophrastus' testimony, which favors Fritze's view, examines the illustrative passages in Homer, Aristophanes etc. and concludes that sprinkling the *οἰλαί*, touching and taking them up, and also casting them into the altarfire were all cathartic in symbolism. The analogy with the Roman *mola salsa* holds as the *οἰλαί* were mixed with salt (vid. Hermes, XXIX, p. 627 ff.).

Die Ueberlieferung des Diogenes Laertios (A. Gercke). The problem of the text criticism of Diog. L. consists in replacing the smooth readings of the Vulgata, due to conjectures of Byzantine and Humanist scholars, by the more difficult and at times corrupt text of the more authoritative older MSS. These are B (Naples, saec. XII), F (Florence, saec. XII) and P (Paris, saec. XIII/XIV), which are derived from an archetype X of uncertain date. Since all the rest [25 in Martini] depend on these three, they should be disregarded, as has been done by Diels in his *Heracleitus*. Martini, on the other hand, favors the Vulgata and believes in a tradition independent of B. F. P.

Zu den attischen Archonten des III. Jahrhunderts (Joh. Kirchner). By means of a fragment of Apollodorus, K. shows that the Chremonidean war lasted from the archonship of Peithidemus 267/6 B. C. to that of Antipater 265/4 B. C. and gives an intelligible outline of its course. The end of the war cannot have been synchronous with the death of the poet Philemon 263/2 B. C. as Droysen supposed. Beloch's arrangement of the list of archons for the first four decades is open to criticism, in that he seems to be guided too much by an assumed cycle of 19 years.

Sallustius = Salutius und das Signum (Th. Mommsen). M. recognizes his mistake (vid. Hermes, XXXVI, 216) in identifying the two praefecti praetorio of the IV cent., currently known by the name Sallustius. The fact is the prefect in the Orient was officially called Saturninius Secundus, though commonly known by his *signum* Salutius. This term, all but unknown to literature, occurs frequently in inscriptions and possibly as early as Antoninus Pius. Examples are: M. Aur. Sabinus, cui fuit et signum Vagulus; M. Magius Sotericus signo Hilari. Many names were probably *signa*, even where it is not stated. The *signum* was perhaps originally not applied to individuals. It occurs chiefly as a designation of groups possessing a common burial ground; but these groups are not to be considered collegia. The ending is regularly -ius; but the names were evidently chosen to differentiate them from the nomen as well as from the cognomen. Originally

distinct from these and not recognized officially, it came to be regarded as a cognomen. The commonest *signa*, owing perhaps to the aristocratic origin or to the frequent use in address, were much favored in later times, especially by Christians. This is probably the origin of such names as Eusebius, Gregorius, Innocentius, etc.

Die Berliner Fragmente der Sappho (F. Blass). With the aid of Schubart, who had already published these most important of the discoveries of Sappho fragments which began 1880, Blass is able to publish the text with a number of improved readings. He adds a critical discussion of the text meaning and meter.

Miscellen.—H. Diels argues in favor of Παρμενίδης alongside of Παρμενείδης, and explains Solon's designation of Mimnermus, λιγυροστόδης, [accepted by Wilamowitz. Timotheos S. 46] to mean "the clear-voiced singer"—W. Dörpfeld. Zur Tholos von Epidaurus.—W. Sternkopf. Zu Cicero Phil. XIII 17, 36.—Paul Stengel. Vogelflug—M. Ihm. Zu Suetons Vita Lucani.

Fascicle 4.

De Gitanis Epiri Oppido (Michael Krascheninnikov). Polybius (XXVII 16, 5) says that the Roman consul A. Hostilius Mancinus came to Phanotes; but upon the advice of Nestor proceeded *εἰς τὴν ἱέρα*. This is the reading of codex Peirescianus, not γίτρονα as Valesius and Wollenberg read; hence the conjectures γέιτρονα and γέιτρονος are wrong. It is the same town mentioned by Livy (XLII 38. 1), where *ad Gitana* should not be changed as modern editors have suggested. As Livy places it ten miles from the sea it would coincide with the modern Dhélvinon, situated, according to Kiepert, that distance from the ruins of the ancient Onchesmus. Leake, followed as usual by Bursian, conjectured D. to be the site of Helicranon, which however should be sought for with Kiepert south of Phoinice, only nearer. Kiepert hesitatingly placed Phanotes at Dhélvinon, but its site, though near by, is uncertain.

Aus der Dresdener Hyginhandschrift (M. Manitius). The most important part of codex Dresdensis 183 saec. IX/X is the astronomical work of Hyginus. Collated with Bunte's edition (Leipz. 1875), it shows the unreliability of the latter, especially as he followed the corrections. This codex D is not merely to be used along with R and M; for in a number of passages it alone has the correct readings. Manitius offers to place his collation at the disposal of a future editor.

Von delphischem Rechnungswesen (Br. Keil). An examination of the two Delphic inscriptions published by L. Bourget in BCH 1900 XXIV 463-83 throws light on the system of finance employed at Delphi by the Amphiktyonic league. It appears that the collections taken up to rebuild the temple, burned 548 B. C., made it imperative to adopt a system by which the various

forms of money could be more easily handled. Hence about 525 B. C. the Attic-Euboic talent and mina were adopted as the official standard and, based on the relative weight, the ratio of 10 : 7 officially recognized to regulate the exchange of Attic and Aeginetan drachmas. Although 3 : 4 soon became the commercial ratio, 7 : 10 remained official, and the difference was utilized to make their accounts give a more favorable showing and probably also to take unfair advantages. Later (336/5 B. C.) an Amphiktyonic drachma was issued, which was intended to restore the ratio of 7 : 10; but to insure circulation was rated $1/45$ higher than the Attic, so that now 44 t Ἀμφικτυονικοῦ or καινοῦ = 45 t Ἀττικοῦ = 48 t 12^m 30ⁿ Ἀγιναίου or παλαιοῦ. The influence of the Amphiktyonic system is shown by an Epidaurian inscription (BCH. 1896 XX p. 385), according to which an account in Athens of 6000 dr. is settled with 4200 Aeg. dr., that is to say at the ratio of 10 : 7.

Telephos der Pergamener Περὶ τῆς καθ' Ὅμηρον Ῥητορικῆς (Hermann Schrader). The treatise on Homer known as Περὶ τοῦ βίου καὶ τῆς ποιήσεως Ὁμήρου and attributed to Plutarch, contains a section (c. 161-174) on the art of rhetoric, which agrees with the τέχνη that bears the name of Dionysius of Halicarnassus, particularly the sections περὶ ἐσχηματισμένων, also with the ζητήματα of Porphyrius, with Homeric scholia independent of the latter, and finally with Hermogenes' περὶ μεθόδου δεινότητος. As the above works are independent of one another, their agreements point to a work on Homeric rhetoric as a common source. This was probably the above named work of Telephos, who was born at the end of the first century A. D., and is known as a prolific writer and as a teacher of the emperor Verus. The supposition that Telephos was a source for remarks on Homeric rhetoric found in scholia etc. is not new; but S. has given it strength and a wider reach, besides showing the character of this particular work.

Das Mitgliederverzeichniss einer attischen Phratrie (Alfred Körte). The last number of the Ἐφημερίς ἀρχαιολογική 1901 publishes a list of 20 names from a stele found near Liopesi, 1899. The heading, in somewhat larger letters, reads Διὸς : φρατρίο : Ἀθηνῶν : Φρατρίας οἶδε φράτερες then follow the names, each accompanied by the name of the father. On the side one name is repeated as follows: Σώσιππος : Σωσιππίδης : ἀνέγραψεν. The date of the inscription should be placed soon after 400 B. C. It is evidently a list of members of a Phratry. The style of the document and the fact that it contains several pairs of fathers and sons precludes the supposition that it is a list of new members. The remarkably small number illustrates the statement of Wilamowitz (Arist. u. Athen II 276) that there was a constantly growing number of citizens who belonged to no phratry.

Beiträge zur Textgeschichte des Sueton (M. Ihm). See Hermes XXXVI p. 344 ff.

Zur Sage von Daidalos und Ikaros (G. Knaack). A discussion of this subject with reference to Holland's attempt in *Programm der Leipziger Thomasschule* (Leip. 1902) to distinguish the various versions of the legend.

Die griechischen Personennamen bei Plautus III (Karl Schmidt). The foregoing articles (*Hermes* XXXVII 173 ff and 353 ff.) show that Plautus' names conform to rule. The so-called hybrid names have almost disappeared. Of the 269 Greek proper names examined, omitting four uncertain ones and those referring to historical or literary personages like Calchas and Demetrius, it appears that 14 names were taken from the originals, 80 occur in other comedies, 87 in inscriptions and elsewhere; the the remaining 88 are ἀπαξ λεγόμενα. Of the latter, 40 seem foreign to the New Comedy. This remnant shows that Plautus' names were largely due to his south Italian environment. Such names as Alcesimarchus, Agorastocles and Pamphilippus illustrate the practice, beginning about 400 B. C. of adding endings like -archus, -cles and -ippus to names whose significance had paled. Then besides other names foreign to the New Comedy, such as Epignomus and Palinurus, there are the imaginary compounds made for comic effect like Miccotrogus, Cercobulus, not to speak of the Plautine double compounds like Theodoromedes Polyplusius (Captivi). Very few, if any, of these compounds could have been derived from the New Comedy, which took its names from real life or made them similar. The names in Alciphron that are like those in Plautus were not derived from the New Comedy; but from older sources, such as the *Batrachomyomachia*, or are imitations of these. Neither were Aristophanes' creations the model, as Leo thinks. They show the same tendency to create comical names as we find in Homer, Archilochus, the *Batrachomyomachia*, Theocritus, on vases and elsewhere, which tendency was particularly active in southern Italy, the home of the φλύακες. The Pompeian names Scordopordonicus, Simicrito and Dinibales illustrate the Graeco-Italic folk wit, which Plautus shared with his audience. The New Comedy and its close imitator Terence lacked this creative force.

Miscellen.—Otto Kern publishes, with plates, inscriptions of an altar and votive relief of Heracles from Magnesia in Thessaly, indicating his worship, etc., also of a votive relief of Zeus and of another dedicated to some hero fond of the chase.—C. F. Lehmann. Zu den theräischen Gewichten (cf. *Hermes* XXXVI p. 113 ff.).—F. Bechtel opposes Hoffmann's conjecture (*Philologus* N. F. XV 245 ff.) that the beginning ΕΞ of the Sotairos inscription forms the genitive ending of the last word ΦΕΡΕΚΡΑΤ.

HERMAN L. EBELING.

ENGLISCHE STUDIEN, herausgegeben von Johannes Hoops.
Volume XXVIII.

1. Stecher. Contributions to the Hermeneutic and the Textual Criticism of the Middle English Prose Romance of Merlin. Stecher deals with Part III of the romance, thus continuing the work of Kölbing and Richter (Eng. Stud. XX. 347 ff.). Wheatley's long-promised volume of critical apparatus has just been added to his edition in the E. E. T. S. publications.

Koeppel. Shelley's *Queen Mab* and Jones' *Palace of Fortune*. The metrical form of his poem Shelley owes chiefly to Southey; its philosophy in large part to Volney's *Les Ruines* (Eng. Stud. XXII. 9 ff.). The narrative element, with the characters *Ianthe* and *Queen Mab*, and certain details of diction, were apparently suggested to Shelley by Sir William Jones' *Palace of Fortune*, 1769. Jones' poem is based upon oriental tales, though it contains traces of relation to Pope's *Temple of Fame*.

Aronstein. Tennyson's *Philosophy*. An article intended chiefly for readers of Tennyson in Germany. The discussions of Tennyson's *Art in Respect to Matter and Form*, and Tennyson's *Position with Reference to Society and the State*, are, on the whole, the best parts of the article.

Hoops. *Wels* and *Walfisch*. The two words are probably related. Kluge (1881) derived them, through Germ. *hwal*-, from Indogermanic **ghal*-. Lédén (1892) connected them with Latin *squalus*, which pointed to an Indogerm. original **(s)qalo-* or **(s)qəlo-*. Sohnsen (1896) connected the words with Greek *πῆλ-ωπος* through an Indogerm. root **qel*:- **qol*-. Hoops proposes to relate them to the Finnic group, which, in its several branches, retains words pointing to such relationship (cf. Finn. *kala*). If Indogerm. borrowed the word from the Finnic, it must have been done at a period long before the two branches could have met, supposing the former came from Asia. Hoops' theory, if correct, is a bit of evidence that the Indogerm. branch had its home in north Europe, where the word may have been borrowed. Or, according to Sweet's theory, that the Indogerm. and the Ugro-Altaic are of common origin, the word may have been derived by both from common stock.

The reviews include a long and detailed examination, by Wülffing, of Sedgefield's edition of Alfred's *Boethius*; unfavorable comment by Förster on Markisch's attempt to complete Zupitza's edition of the OE. *Apollonius of Tyre*; and notices of three recent publications on Burns.

Miscellanea. Kraeger publishes two notes on C. F. Meyer's use, in his lyrics, of Shakespearian verses.

2. Spies. *The Material Available for the Study of Gower, with Suggestions for Further Research*. Studies which serve

as a reliable means of orientation in any subject are rarer than they ought to be, perhaps because they demand a peculiar and somewhat rare sort of selective and expository skill. On this account the present article deserves especial attention from any who are likely to be engaged or interested in work of this kind. It is at once idealistic and sane. It contains, with other matter, a list of the chief allusions to Gower down to the eighteenth century; a list of biographies of Gower; a discussion of the dates of the *Confessio Amantis*, especially of the B version (Spies inclines to the date 1393); lists of Gower's works, of editions, and of exegetical and critical studies. The last part of the article is devoted to the *Confessio Amantis*. It includes a good review of existing editions, especially the recent one by Macaulay, which is neither definitive nor critical. To this is added a tentative classification of the forty MSS and three early editions of the poem, now attempted in a thorough manner for the first time. In conclusion, the author sketches on imposing lines the edition of the text which he intends to prepare.

Bang. *Studies in Dekker*. The writer deals with the question of the composite authorship of *Patient Grissell*. His conclusions are that Chettle wrote a first version in 1599-1600; with the help of Dekker, Jonson, and Haughton, he later revised and augmented the plan. Of the additions, Sir Owen and Gwentian are probably Dekker's, Emulo may be Jonson's, and the episode of Julia and her suitor, Haughton's. Incidentally the author touches upon a quarrel between Will Kemp and a 'Jansonus', who, he thinks, is Jonson. Kemp sneers at his opponent's complexion as being of 'so red a color, that all the soap in the town will not wash white'. Bang believes that Shakespeare's Sir Hugh Evans was suggested by Sir Owen. He adds a note on the date of the Spanish Tragedy.

Roloff. Iwan Iwanowitsch. A German rendering of Brown-ing's poem.

H. B. Baildon. Robert Louis Stevenson (concluded). One striking sentence is sufficient: 'Like Thackeray, when he [Stevenson] does, so to speak, condescend on pathos, it is with a master touch and takes us fairly by the throat'.

Stoffel. *Must* in Modern English. I, *Must* as an Imperfect. The transition of *must*, from preterite meaning in Middle English to present, is through ME. use of *must* as a subjunctive-conditional; as in *Piers Plowman* B XIII. 314: 'Thi best cote, Haukyn, hath many moles and spottes, it moste ben ywasshe'; that is, it ought to have been, if all were as it should be. The writer concludes that, 'in Modern English, in principal sentences containing an independent statement which is not a latent *oratio obliqua*, *must* may be used as a past tense: (a) as a past conditional subjunctive in an apodosis; (b) as a past indicative mainly in

cases where it has emphatic meaning, as "Something he must read, when he was not riding." II, *Must* as a Present Tense. In OE. *ic mote* means (1) 'I am allowed', (2) 'I am able', (3) 'I shall perhaps', (4) it expresses the subjunctive and optative, (5) 'it is my duty to', (6) 'I cannot but'. In ME. (1), (2), (3), (4), are more frequent than (5) or (6). In Mod. E. only (5), (6), and (1) in negative expressions, are found.

Miscellanea. Vordieck proposes, in Macbeth I. 7. 28, to read:

I have no spur
To prick the sides of my intent, but only
Vaulting ambition, which o'erleaps itself,
And falls on *th' author*,

'the author' being Macbeth himself, and 'but only' equivalent to 'but I have only'.

3. Wetz. Remarks in Contribution to a Final Estimate of the Schlegel-Tieck Translation of Shakespeare. The credit which has been given to Tieck belongs really to Baudissin and to Dorothea Tieck, who translated respectively thirteen and six of the plays, while Tieck himself did little more than alter these translations here and there for the worse. The translation has been greatly overestimated by the Germans. Gildemeister has improved upon it with the use of more idiomatic and fluent German and greater faithfulness to character. Dingelstedt's rendering of the songs is much livelier. Revision can never convert the Schlegel-Tieck translation into a classic rendering. A new translation is therefore desirable, in which the best translators available shall co-operate.

Kroder. Studies in Shelley's Epipsychidion. A discussion of the following topics: The Genesis of the Poem; the Opening Lines; Traces of Platonism in the Poem; Personalia; Poetic Technique. The writer's critical skill may be judged from his statement that the value of Epipsychidion as a poetic creation is recognized unanimously by critics and general public 'as above all praise'. 'The great conclusion of the poem', he says, 'appears to me a marvel which hitherto had been scarcely conceived, and which has never been equaled since—and all this whether we consider the fabulous beauty of its images . . . or the superhuman depth of understanding manifest in the poet's revelation of the constraining power of love'.

Koeppel. Tennysonia. I, Armageddon and Timbuctoo. In Hallam Tennyson's Memoir of the poet the latter poem is said to have been the result of revamping an earlier effort, The Battle of Armageddon. The writer believes that Timbuctoo bears traces of an acquaintance with an epic entitled Armageddon, by George Townsend, a protégé of Richard Cumberland's. II, Sir William Jones' translation of Moallakát and Locksley Hall. That the

Tennysons were once interested in the work of Sir William appears from notes in the *Poems by Two Brothers*. Koepfel points out certain cases of correspondence in diction between *Locksley Hall* and the translation of the *Moðllakát*, and recalls the fact, which Tennyson is said once to have admitted, that the metre of *Locksley Hall* was suggested by the peculiar movement of Jones' transcription of the original into Roman letters.

The Reviews include a discussion by Fränkel and Glöde of five recent publications on Shakespeare, none of them especially significant. In a review of Cook's *Biblical Quotations in Old English Writers*, Förster proposes the theory that the West Saxon Gospels are based upon a Vulgate MS of the later West Saxon type, that is, a Vulgate founded upon a Roman basis, and incorporating numerous Irish readings.

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BRIEF MENTION.

In HIRZEL'S most interesting and instructive book, *Der Eid, Ein Beitrag zu seiner Geschichte* (Leipzig, S. Hirzel), the section 'der Eid als Fluch', in which he explains the formula, 'So help me God', brings up a bit of actuality, which gives striking confirmation to the author's remarks on the steady decline of the binding power of the oath. True, witnesses still 'kiss the book' but the time-honored formula, 'So help me God' has just disappeared from the Maryland courts. In fact, nothing would be easier than to write a commentary on antique life in terms of to-day. Demosthenes against Kallikles (LV), an old and especial favorite of mine, was illustrated a few years ago by a lawsuit concerning a drain at Roland Park, a suburb of Baltimore; and the Pseudo-Demosthenean speech, *πρὸς Ζηνόθεον* (XXXII)—a bottomry case—is made more vivid by the following clipping from a Baltimore newspaper of March 26, 1899: 'Greek sailing vessels visited this port many years ago, but merchants had little confidence in them, as they were apt to change their names while on the voyage, put into a port, sell the cargo and nothing more could ever be heard of them'. This is an instance of the continuity of history that would have delighted the heart of Mr. Freeman, who, by the way, was not a close student of the Attic orators (A. J. P. XII 521). These are the coincidences that commend the study of antiquity to the young and I have often asked myself why no enterprising scholar has been found to prepare a Greek Reader on the basis of the private orations of the Attic canon. The Greek would be beyond cavil and the contents would not be without human interest. To be sure, much has been done for the Attic Orators since I wrote, now some thirty years ago, a short series of sketches entitled 'On the Steps of the Bema' in which I insisted on the importance of this range of reading. About the same time, PERROT was doing similar work in the 'Revue des Deux Mondes', as I found out afterwards, and needless to say, doing it much better; and the purely philological literature that has gathered about the Attic Orators in the last score of years is immense. A portly Italian book on Isaios, CACCIALANZA, *Le Orazioni di Iseo* (Torino, 1901), is still awaiting review, to say nothing of monographs and dissertations, but the desiderated Reader has not made its appearance yet. Meanwhile we can all study WILAMOWITZ'S *Lesebuch*, which bids defiance to the restrictions of Atticism, and has for its ensign the head of Alexander the Great. To review the book would be to review one's own philological life and to confess one's own philological shortcomings, so that it is not surprising that the work has been more

than once taken up in hope and laid down in despair. It is impossible for a man of my generation to consider it seriously as a schoolbook, and if I were to characterize it, I should echo the words of Pomtow, who in the *Berliner Philologische Wochenschrift* (9. Mai 1903), calls it, 'das schönste und lehrreichste Geschenk—für die Philologen'. Nothing more stimulating, nothing more illuminating, nothing that serves better to remind old scholars as well as young of the gaps in their knowledge of antiquity, the imperfection of their acquaintance with the real significance of it for itself and for our own times. For this particular office the *Lesebuch* will be found as useful as Ovid's *Ibis* is, according to Niebuhr (A. J. P. III 87), for those who fancy that they know Greek mythology.

By the way, a reviewer of my 'Problems in Greek Syntax' has lately taken me to task for quoting BLASS against the *Lesebuch* in the matter of the tenses in later Greek (A. J. P. XXIII 241). 'Der von Gildersleeve behauptete Widerspruch zwischen Blass und Wilamowitz', says PH. WEBER in the *Neue Philologische Rundschau* 5. Sept. 1903, '<ist> bei näherem Zusehen völlig unbegründet. Blass hat in der zitierten Stelle, wo er sagt, die Unterscheidung zwischen dauernder und vollendeter Aktion geschehe im N. T. mit derselben Genauigkeit wie im klassischen Griechisch, nur das Imperfekt und den Indikativ Aorist im Auge, während es bei Wilamowitz heisst 'Der Unterschied zwischen den Imperativen des Praesens und des Aorists wird in den vulgären Rede vernachlässigt'. I am not afraid of 'das nähere Zusehen'. In the passage referred to, BLASS, G. N. T. G. § 57 (E. T.), says: 'The distinction between continuous and completed action is most sharply marked in the case of the imperfect and aorist indicative and moreover, this distinction is observed with the same accuracy in N. T. as in classical Greek'. By saying 'is most sharply marked in the case of the imperfect and aorist indicative', he does not exclude the distinction in the other moods, and in § 58 after saying that 'between the moods of the present and aorist there exists essentially the same relation as that which exists between the imperfect and aorist', he goes on to discuss at length the distinction between present and aorist imperative in the N. T., so that the conflict between the two authorities abides, as I stated it. The failure to feel the difference between the tenses of the moods may be the fault of the student and not the fault of the language, and I have said that 'learners must be made to distinguish with equal sharpness between the present and the aorist infinitive' (A. J. P. III 165). And yet I felt constrained to add, 'but after all, the indicative gives the main lines and the other moods only the shading'. There are very nice questions along this line of study and the imperatives of the

N. T. demand a special treatment. The preference for the aorist in certain spheres of Hellenistic Greek is marked, as I pointed out many years ago, *Just. Mart. Apol.* I 16, 6 (1877), cited in *A. J. P.* XXIII 241. In classical times the present imperative is slightly ahead, if we may judge by the orators (cf. C. W. E. Miller, *A. J. P.* XIII 425). The aorist differentiates. In later times there seems to be a preference for the aorist. If so, the present would differentiate. Interesting is the Schol. AB on π 5 <πῖνε> ἀντὶ τοῦ πῖθι ὡς τὸ διεφαίνετο χάρος πιπτόντων ἀντὶ τοῦ πεσόντων.

Much syntactical work goes to waste in out of the way places, in 'programmes' and 'Beilagen' and it is a pity that there is no clearing house, no 'Jahresbericht' to gather up the results, or, if there be no results, to affix the *mortiferum* Θ . In his *Beobachtungen über den Gebrauch des Artikels bei Personennamen*, a Nürnberg Beilage of 1899, which fell into my hands the other day, the author takes no notice of any of his predecessors. One of these predecessors, KARL SCHMIDT, as the attentive readers of the Journal know, declined to take up the articular proper name in Xenophon on account of the uncertainty of the text (*A. J. P.* XI 483). Cf. Joost's Xenophon (S. 63). But ZUCKER has no difficulty on that score and attacks the problem, as it presents itself in the Anabasis, with great vigor and lavish expenditure of words. The upshot of his investigations will not be novel to those who have looked into the subject at all. 'The true domain of the article with proper names is the narrative and not the speech'. 'In artistic narrative', he believes,—he need not have been so modest,—'especially in the purposely naive style, the element of poetic ἐνάργεια plays a far other rôle than in the speech, the mainspring of which is logical proof'. Now all that this 'poetische Anschaulichkeit', which I have just translated 'poetic ἐνάργεια' amounts to is conveyed by the term 'familiar language', the language of verbal gesture (cf. *A. J. P.* XXIII 9. 123). To dispose of the 'anaphora' formula as Professor ZUCKER has done is an easy matter (*A. J. P.* XI 483) but the average student will not be much helped by the word 'reaction', which really means nothing more than 'contrast', another old formula which certain scholars have worked pretty hard. See Herbst *A. J. P.* II 541 and cf. Monro, H. G. § 259. When 'reaction' fails, Professor ZUCKER,—and it must fail him when several articular proper nouns follow in succession,—then he has to fall back on such vaguenesses as 'special' or 'natural interest.' Like so many other grammatical observations, these categories may serve to help the appreciation, but apply the test of reproduction and what then? Take a translation of Xenophon's Anabasis and put the article before the proper names in accordance with ZUCKER's canons and watch the result. In fine, the article with the proper noun is a superfluity.

It is what I have just called it, a verbal gesture. The reaction is a responsive nudge of the elbow, the special interest is an aggressive thrust of the forefinger between the ribs. We read in Joost (p. 63) that in the *Anabasis* there are 390 proper names of persons with, and 900 without the article. Gemoll tells us that Xenophon says *Kûros* 196 times, *ô Kûros* 28 times. Schmidt (A. J. P. XI 483) shows how little the article is used in the orators. The figures tell the whole story better than Professor ZUCKER's sixty odd pages have done.

Nothing in Lucian's *Vera Historia* ever tickled me more than the passage in which Homer is made to say that he composed all his spurious verses himself, and some of the Homeric verses that have fallen under the ban of the critic are especial favorites of mine, such as *χείλεα μὲν τ' ἔδιδνε, ὑπερφῶν δ' οὐκ ἔδιδνε*, perhaps because this particular line is an epitome of the behaviour of that stepdame, Fortune, towards most of us. But even if the experience goes no farther than the lips, it is worth something, and if I had not served for a few weeks in a cavalry regiment, I should not have warmed to W. HELBIG's *Ἱππεῖς Athēniens* recently published in the *Mémoires de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres*. The article is profusely illustrated and the subject is thus brought within the reach of a wider public. Portentously alive are the figures of horses and men, and one is tempted to read again Cherbuliez's *Cheval de Phidias* and Morgan's edition of Xenophon on Horsemanship and to ride the ghost of a favorite mare bareback in spirit.

To all who value the high example of mature work, the rare example of work that from the beginning has shown no sign of weakness, no loss of power, the new edition of VAHLEN'S *Ennius* (Teubner)—the old edition goes back to 1854—will be doubly welcome both for its own sake and for the final disposition of the rumor so long current in philological circles that the master had resolved to leave the great work of his life as a legacy and not to await the reception of it as a gift. That there was some danger of this appears from the words that introduce the *Addenda et Corrigenda*: 'Propero ad finem, ut hic liber, cui non dicam quot annos vitae tribuerim—tandem in lucem publicam prodeat'. But that danger is past. There will be loud acclaim, there will be no lack of criticism. *λίθον ἔψεις, ἔλεγεν*. But these things are for the many. To very few will the book bring with it, as it does to me, a vision of the past, a renewal of youth, for very few are left of those who filled Ritschl's lecture room in 1852, very few that can remember the senior of the Philological Seminary as he sat on the front bench alone, already separated from the rest of us by gifts and attainments that roused no feeling but admiration.

I have at my elbow the Ennius of 1854 and a bound volume of the dissertations of the day which contains Vahlen's *Quaestiones Ennianae Criticae* (1852). I remember as if it were yesterday the 'promotion' of Josephus Lawicki whose dissertation was entitled, *De Fraude Pauli Merulae* and among the 'adversaries' was Ioannes Vahlen, Phil. Dr. renuntiandus. The Vahlen of to-day passes Lawicki by in silence and simply agrees with the Dutch scholar who upholds 'de geloofwaardigheid van Paullus Merula.' No wonder then that I cut the leaves of the new Ennius eagerly, foretaste the pages that tell of the life of Ennius among men and the after-life of Ennius in the long lapses of Roman Literature and pause to read and reread the story of the prize essay, the generous competition, the memorable award. 'Erit fortasse' says VAHLEN, 'qui haec quae singularem vim et virtutem Ritschेलii luculenter expressam tenent non invitatus legat;' and the image of the great teacher comes up before me in his prime as I have elsewhere tried to set it forth (A. J. P. V 339 foll.)

Why do I indulge in this personal reminiscence? It is not the sentimentality of a man who has nothing better to do than to brood over the past. Nay, one cannot emphasize too much the importance of the work that Ritschl did and caused to be done and the spirit that he infused into it. Well-rounded schemes for a regular Triennium Philologicum are very desirable and when one scans closely the courses once followed at the German universities, still followed at the German universities, everything seems to be at loose ends. There is no unity, no system in them. But so long as the teacher sets fire and the pupil takes fire, there is hope, and it is a hope that maketh not ashamed. We were all Plautus-mad and Ennius-mad in those days and I set myself, as a subject worthy of study, the points of contact between Plautus and Ennius. The two poets were contemporaries and there must be some trace of influence. I made little out of my quest, and in VAHLEN's judgment little has been made out of it by anybody (p. XXI), but though my studies have drifted far from Plautus and Ennius, and I have no right to a judgment on the final work of such a masterpiece as VAHLEN's *Ennius*, I know enough to appreciate in a measure the exquisite balance that is VAHLEN's own. Ritschl's pupil he is, but no true master is the lunar rainbow of another.

W. H. K.: In reading the excellent introduction to Dr. WILSON's *Juvenal*—a book which, long expected, fulfils expectation—I am reminded, at § 79, that, when discussing the *nec* of early Latin (in "Studies in Honor of B. L. Gildersleeve" pp.

32 ff.), I failed to remark on *necdum*. In fact, this compound seemed to display its character so plainly in the company it kept, that I felt no impulse to protest against any future association of it with the venerable Plautine *nec recte*. Virgil first has it—certainly once, twice if we trust the Palatine at Aen. IV 698. Now this passage has no demonstrable relation to Naevius or Ennius; and it is not in the ninth, or any other, Eclogue that we ought to search hopefully after archaisms. *Cuium pecus* proves as little as *olli*; it is one thing to please the ear with a rounder vowel or the avoidance of a repeated sibilant, and another to revive a form which is recommended by no euphonic superiority. And revival is always a conscious effort; whereas the influence of Greek, the language alike of his great models and his contemporary instructors, was for the Latin writer no less subtle than hard to resist. In turning the Terentian *ne nunc quidem* into *nec nunc*, Horace did not hark back to the Plautus at whom he sneered, but reproduced the familiar *μηδέ*; and though Theocritus could not use *οὐδέπω* there was nothing to prevent Virgil, whose Greek was a matter of speech as well as of reading, of prose as well as of poetry, from fitting the Latin equivalent into his verse. When we consider the opportunities of the two poets, we can only stand astonished at their purism.—Besides, to prove that this non-copulative *necdum* was a revival, we should have to discover it before Virgil; but it occurs only after him, in Livy, who was no purist, in Columella and Palladius, Tacitus and Pliny (Kuehner, II p. 619). *Où diable l'archaïsme va-t-il se nicher?* And yet the only Livian example at my command, XXI 18. 8, *necdum enim erant socii vestri*, shows a certain scrupulosity. The copulative force of *neque enim* resided originally in the first participle; when the second usurped it by virtue of its usurped causality, *neque* suffered a paralysis which, in the same connection, would easily affect *necdum*.—As to Juvenal, he certainly knew that his *nec ille* matched *οὐδ' ἐκεῖνος*, and could hardly have felt his *necdum* differently, if he used it in the sense of *nondum*. But why should we so interpret in I 6? The asyndeton here would be at least odd; the copula is quite natural, and has the same adversative value that Dr. WILSON, in § 74, notes for *et*. There is an instructive parallel in Tacitus, A. I 10, *concepto necdum edito partu*; the attempt to treat these participles as asyndetically coordinated and *nec* as *non* ends in a physiological *reductio ad absurdum*.

H. L. W.: The last quarter century has seen the publication of a large number of those interesting books known as *Festschriften*, which celebrate birthdays and anniversaries and do honor to the veterans of the academic world. This delightful custom by which students and friends give enduring expression to their admiration and love for a great master has found its way across the Atlantic

and several of the foremost American scholars also have thus been honored. The latest addition to literature of this class is the *Festschrift, zu Otto Hirschfelds sechzigstem Geburtstage* (Berlin, Weidmann, 1903, pp. 513, M. 20), to which sixty-three friends and pupils of the great epigraphist have contributed. The range of subjects represented in the volume is unusually wide, including Roman literature and various branches of Greek and Roman antiquities. The average value and importance, too, of the contributions, considered from a scientific point of view, are far greater than in many collections of a similar character. This is shown even by a glance at the table of contents, in which appear the names of C. Wessely, R. Schöne, F. Hiller von Gaertringen, U. Wilcken, S. de Ricci, B. Kübler, Th. Mommsen, A. von Premerstein, A. von Domaszewski, and others equally well known. Naturally a large number of the contributions belongs to the domain of Roman literature and epigraphy. Here are interesting and valuable articles by I. Vahlen, L. Gurlitt, H. Dessau, O. Seeck, C. Cichorius, L. Friedländer, J. Dürr, H. Dressel, E. Bormann, R. Cagnat, A. Schulten, E. Löwy, C. Huelsen, and others, a mere list of which would occupy too much space. On the whole, it is a remarkable collection, a worthy monument to one of the foremost scholars of our time, whose colleagues on this side of the Atlantic unite with his friends and pupils in wishing him yet many happy years of fruitful labor.

On the sixth of December, 1903, the present number of the AMERICAN JOURNAL OF PHILOLOGY (No. 96) was nearly ready for issue, when the printing establishment of the Friedenwald Co. was wrecked by fire. In consequence of this disaster, it has not been found possible to resume publication until now and some time must elapse before the regular dates can be overtaken. During the long suspension of the printing, much copy has accumulated, many new books have been received, and the editor and the publishers invoke the indulgence of subscribers, contributors and correspondents.

B. L. G.

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Thanks are due to Messrs. Lemcke & Buechner, 812 Broadway, New York, for material furnished.

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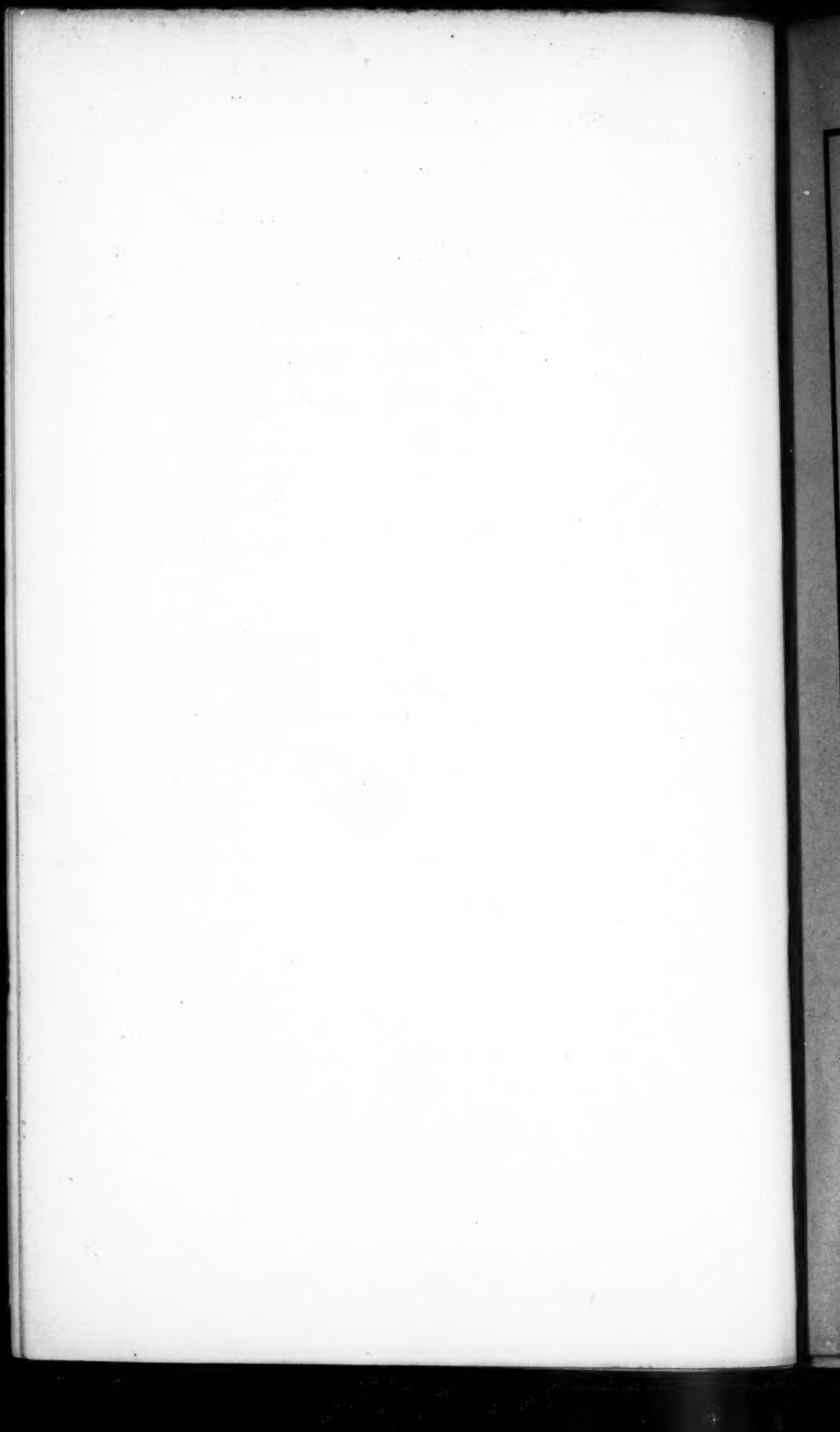
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